The Communist Party & How It Works

a handbook

on its Organization & Functioning

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INTRODUCTION

This Handbook was prepared by a committee of the Organization Department of the Communist Party, U.S.A. at the direction of the Political Bureau of the Party and in conformity with the decisions of the Party's 21st National Convention, June 1975. That Convention called for a further strengthening of the Party's contributions to the struggle for peace, democracy, the living needs of working people, against racism and for socialism. It called for rooting the Party even more deeply among the workers, particularly in the basic industries, and among the specially oppressed peoples, Black people in the first place. In order to achieve these aims, the Convention concluded that more rapid growth of the Communist Party is necessary. The fight for the vitality of its internal life and for higher standards ideologically, politically and organizationally is part of the process of building the Party. This Handbook is aimed at helping to speed that process.

The contributions of the Communist Party, past and present, to the mass struggles for the needs of working people deservedly receive attention. Often overlooked is the profound impact of Party membership on the individual member. Party members constantly learn more about their own shop, neighborhood, city and country as well as generally about the world. They learn the theory and practice of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. They learn what is most in the interests of the working class, the specially oppressed peoples, all working people, our country and the peoples of the whole world. They learn to act in accord with this understanding and, thereby, to become more fully socially responsible human beings. Party membership helps develop many skills of members—from general organizing to how to make a leaflet, etc. It develops higher qualities of the individual, while exposing the dehumanizing influences of capitalism. Comradeship of people who share the most fundamental goals and struggles in life is another of the many benefits resulting from Party membership. Throughout the Handbook are further indications of the benefits of Party membership for effective and far-sighted

social struggle and for individual development with the highest working class and humanist qualities.

The specific purposes of the Handbook are several. It presents the organizational principles, norms of structure and functioning of Communist Party bodies at all levels. It also indicates how the Party works on a daily basis for peace, democracy, full equality, better living conditions and socialism. The methods and style of working and internal life of the Party are described.

There is much "how to do it" information about club meetings, forums, fund-raising and other matters. It does not, however, cover all organizational procedures, especially those that are subject to frequent change.

A work whose purpose is to introduce people to the Communist Party for the first time, or help those considering joining to reach a conclusion, would include some additional material and could well omit much of what is contained here. It should indicate the Communist Party's record of achievement, past and present, as well as argue why the Communist Party is absolutely needed in addition to other forms of democratic organization.

This Handbook is intended for members, new and old, who want a more systematic presentation of the Party's structure and how it works. It is also intended for classes and schools on the Communist Party, its principles of organization and functioning. It should likewise prove handy as a reference work when more detail on the norms of organization and how to do something is desired. All Communist Party leadership cadre should be familiar with its content.

I. NATURE, ROLE, STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The following Preamble to the Party's Constitution summarizes the Party's application of Marxism-Leninism to U.S. conditions. It briefly presents the content of the Party program, its strategy and tactics. It also describes the nature and role of the Party as the Leninist Party of the new type in the United States:

> The Communist Party, U.S.A. is the political party of the working class and is dedicated to the interests of all working people and all specially oppressed peoples. Its aim is a socialist society.
>
> Such a social system will act in the interests of the people rather than for private profit of capitalist corporations. Only through abolition of the capitalist system and the socialist reorganization of society can exploitation of one human being by another be ended, and with it the evils of oppression, war, racism, and poverty.
>
> Under socialism, capitalist "democracy" based on domination of our economic and political life by the owners of the multinational and other immense monopoly corporations will be replaced by socialist democracy based on public ownership and operation of the means of production, within a state led by the working class. In eliminating private profit, socialism will end the cause of national and racial oppression of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian, Asian-American and all other specially oppressed and foreign born peoples, as well as the cause of anti-Semitism, and of the special oppression of women.
>
> The heart of the Communist Party's day-to-day program is the struggle for peace, democracy, equality, against racism and for improvement in the living conditions of all working people. The fight of the people of our country for detente and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, in support of struggles of oppressed peoples for

national liberation and against imperialist aggression is our fight.

The fight of workers for jobs and full employment, improvement of their living and working conditions, for organizing the unorganized and defending their unions against attack by monopoly capital and its government is the fight of our Party.

The struggle for equality for Black people and against racism is central to all social progress. It is central to the fighting unity of the working class, and to the struggle for the equality of all other specially oppressed minorities. The fight of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian, Asian-American and other specially oppressed peoples for full economic, political, social and cultural equality is the fight of our whole Party.

The fight for the full equality of women is also the struggle of the whole Party. The struggle of working people, urban and rural, for improved living conditions, against the crushing burden of taxes, for better housing, health, education, child care, cultural and recreational facilities, the struggle of the youth, the senior citizens and of the farm laborers and small farmers for their special needs—all these are our fight.

Monopoly capital and the government it dominates continually press in a reactionary, repressive direction, curtailing the democratic rights of the vast majority and increasing the threat of fascism. Our Party continually fights against this danger and to expand the democratic rights of the people.

All these struggles weaken capital and particularly challenge the monopolies that dominate the system. They are also the struggles through which the necessary conditions are created for the working class and its allies to curb the power of monopoly and proceed to take power and build socialism.

The working class is the only class capable of leading the people against the monopolies and to socialism. It faces the ruling capitalist class daily at the point of production and on all other fronts of social struggle. Because of its position in the system of production, the working class, through organization, has the potential of great power.

The Communist Party is part of the working class and a partisan of its interests. In the course of daily struggle it works to increase the class and socialist consciousness and the political independence of the working class, to unite the class to defeat the main instruments of capitalist division, racism and anti-communism, and to bring the workers to the leadership of a growing people's alliance of all class and social strata whose interests clash with those of the monopolies. Only such a popular majority

alliance, with the working class and the Black people as a whole at its center, is capable of curbing the power of the monopolies and opening the path to the socialist reorganization of society. The Communist Party is able to play this leading role because it is based on the science of society known as Marxism-Leninism and the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

Our Party strives for socialism through peaceful expression of the majority will. Whether this will be possible depends on the workers' ability to prevent the U.S. ruling class from using violence to block the people's will.

The Communist Party recognizes and fights for identity of interests among workers of all lands, an identity which is also in the true national interests of each country. In this spirit of working class internationalism, the Communist Party cherishes its solidarity with the world Communist movement and the socialist countries, especially with the first country of socialism, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It also seeks the closest bonds with the working class in the other capitalist countries.

In the struggle against U.S .imperialism, the world's most powerful imperalism, our Party works to build the solidarity of the U.S. working class with developing countries, the national liberation movements and especially with the victims of U.S. imperialist aggression, exploitation and domination. Only through world working class solidarity and anti-imperalist unity can peaceful coexistence be assured and the world saved from nuclear war.

The historic cause of the working class determines the goals of the Communist Party. That cause is the cause of all working people and therefore of all humanity. To that end the Communist Party fights shoulder to shoulder with all who struggle for peace, democracy, equality, against racism and for improvement in the living conditions of the people. The historic destiny of the working class is, in alliance with all working people, to replace capitalist exploitation and oppression by a socialist system of common effort for the common good.

II. INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

Industrial concentration is the method, style and content of the work of the Party. Its aim is to bring the working class and its basic sectors forward as the class conscious leader of all the people's struggles for peace, democracy, full equality, social progress and socialism. Its aim is to build the influence and membership of the Party in the labor movement and among the working

class, especially industrial workers and those in the basic industries such as steel, auto, electrical, transportation and mining.

The Preamble to the Constitution indicates the Party's view of the role of the working class. Within the class, the industrial workers in basic industries are most decisive. Working in those industries on which all others depend, they possess great strength for the struggle against monopoly. They are at the heart of the productive process and when they move all other workers tend to follow their lead.

Central to industrial concentration is the assistance of the whole Party in strengthening the labor movement as a militant, fighting movement. Trade unions are the outgrowth of the spontaneous movement of workers to defend and improve their wages, conditions and job security by economic struggle at the place of work. Without unions, individual workers would be fighting alone against the monopolies. Unions are necessarily composed of workers with different ideological and political tendencies. There is, however, the question of policy of the union as an organization. Communists strive to win unions to policies of class conscious, militant trade unionism. They fight against various forms of class collaborationism that undermine unions as fighters for the interests of the workers. Communist workers also participate in their unions and in organizing the unorganized on the basis of Lenin's view that unions are a "school of socialism."

If the trade unions are to be successful in defending the interests of their members against the powerful monopolies, they need an active and increasingly conscious membership. Rank and file groups built around particular shop, contract and/or inner union issues are necessary for strengthening unions in this way. When there are strong class collaborationist tendencies in a union, the path to overcoming these tendencies necessarily includes the growth of such rank and file forms of struggle.

Industrial concentration means focusing the entire work and activity of every Party organization, committee, commission and member toward these aims. Every Party organization, committee and commission should have a plan of work between National Conventions and on a yearly basis. Every aspect of these plans of work must be on the basis of industrial concentration and reflect its application.

For the Central Committee, its standing committees, commissions and institutions this means singling out districts like Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and, within the South as a whole, such industrial centers as Birmingham. It means singling out such industries as steel, auto, electrical, transportation and mining for special political assistance and attention and for the concentration of personnel and material re-

sources of the Party in a planned way. This requires a national plan in conjunction with the districts involved for building shop clubs, shop newspapers and rank and file movements, in specific shops and nationally. Our press, periodicals, leaflets, pamphlets and books should reflect the concentration districts, industries and plants, both in content and distribution.

At the district level the concentration plan should select the decisive shops or plants with consideration to national concentration plans and local circumstances. These shops are selected on the basis of which ones are decisive, from the standpoint that when the workers in them move they are capable of moving the entire working class of the area. Concentration shops are not picked on the basis of which ones will be easiest to work in or where our forces are presently located. The plan includes what district personnel, which clubs and which other personnel will have the responsibility to build the influence of the Party and its shop clubs in the concentration plants as well as to help develop rank and file organizations. It also includes the ways and means of doing these things, i.e., resources, etc.

At the club level an industrial club concentrates its efforts in relation to a specific shop in its industry with the aim of building a shop club there and separating it from the original industrial club. It may have such an aim as a special assignment of concentration from the district or on its own. A neighborhood club may have a district assignment to work in relation to a given shop or union hall located in the territory for which it is responsible, or at a nearby shop or union hall. It may have the main responsibility, or work with other clubs or with individual comrades assigned to work under the leadership of the club in relation to that shop, or some other forms may be used. Even where there is no concentration assignment from a higher body, every neighborhood club should select a shop, a union hall, a housing project, or an area of one or two blocks within the territory for which it is responsible, for industrial concentration. In the case of a housing project or small few-block area, the selection would be based on its decisive importance in the neighborhood, with the most important class and social composition, etc.

A club covering more than one neighborhood should select one neighborhood for concentration with the aim of building a separate new single neighborhood club. It should select a shop, union hall, housing project or one or two block area within that one neighborhood on the same composition basis. Every member tries to influence his or her mass organization to take up the appropriate issues of greatest concern to the workers, tries to influence the organization to approach trade unions and trade unionists for mutually beneficial relationships, and tries to bring workers into the

leadership of all people's movements. Mass work and activity of every variety should be aimed in the first place at the shop, union hall, housing project or few-block area of concentration of the neighborhood club. This includes work with the press and literature, and mass educational forms such as forums, etc.

Industrial concentration also means that members who work among middle strata seek to win them as firm allies under working class leadership in the struggle against the monopolies. By such a conscious policy with respect to the middle strata, the Party gives further evidence of its contributions to the working class cause in the fight against monopoly.

Industrial concentration means a specific kind of approach wherever we work, live and/or conduct our mass activity. But it also means a planned approach to building in the most decisive places for moving the whole class, among industrial workers in the basic industries, whether or not that is where our forces are now located. Our current placement of forces, strength and influence affect how we go about achieving our industrial concentration tasks. We use these strengths to help achieve the concentration tasks. We must avoid, however, tendencies to substitute for or drift away from these fundamental objectives among the basic workers.

III. STYLE OF WORK AMONG THE MASSES

How does the Party work on a day-to-day basis to carry out its special role and implement the strategic aims outlined in the Program and in the Preamble to the Constitution? Historically, the united front concept identified with the name of Georgi Dimitrov meant unity of the working class, despite differing ideological and political tendencies, in struggle for limited needs of the class. Such unity, when it extended beyond the working class and included other classes and social strata, was termed a popular front. Today the common principles of the united front and popular front style of work, in which Communists unite with other workers and all anti-monopoly strata despite different ideological and political trends to work for a single limited objective or for a more extended common program of demands, are sometimes loosely termed "united front style of work." It is more properly called the mass style of work of the Party in building people's unity against the monopolies.

When such unity has been developed, we often call it a coalition, especially if it includes a number of organizations and not just individuals. In any formation of people's unity, the first task of Communists is to insure that it holds together for the purposes of struggle for which it was estab-

lished. Divisive tendencies such as racism and anti-communism have to be fought, as well as anything else which threatens the carrying out of its purposes.

Unity of action presupposes ideological and political differences among participants. Attempts to erase such differences in one stroke based on acceptance of the program of the most advanced participants can also threaten the purposes for which the unity was established.

Within this framework we do everything possible to bring the working class forces into the leadership, emphasizing class issues and activities. We fight for the full acceptance of the Communist Party. This means judgment of the Party strictly on its merits in the struggle and election of Communists to share leadership when this is merited and understood by others to be so. We also strive to help the participants draw ever deeper lessons and thus prepare the united effort to go on to higher levels of united action and common program.

The main focus of the Party's daily work is in building unity of struggle among the masses around the basic "bread and butter" issues most directly affecting their living conditions. In the shops, these are the questions of wages, conditions of labor, job security and unemployment. For the working class and all working people, these include questions of unemployment, inflation, taxes, adequate housing at reasonable costs, health services, education, mass transit, day care and other social welfare programs.

Unlike reformists and "narrow economists," the Party participates in and initiates such struggles in such a way that they are not isolated from other issues nor viewed as the final solution to all social problems. The Party, therefore, emphasizes the special problems faced by Black people and other specially oppressed peoples, women, youth and retirees on these issues, and builds unity on the basis of fighting for their special needs and for their fullest participation in leadership and policymaking. It shows how and why ruling class racism and its penetration among white masses is contrary to the interests of all in the struggle. It shows the relationship of the "bread and butter" issues to the struggle for peaceful coexistence and detente, for slashing the military budget and against U.S. imperialist aggression. It shows the relationship of the issue to the struggle for expansion of democratic rights, for the right to strike, etc., and against reaction and repression. It shows the relationship to the need for the working class and the labor movement to come forward as the leader of all people's struggles and for independent political action, as well as the nature of the socialist alternative.

In this way every united action and formation reflects the Party's policy of industrial concentration, the fact that Black liberation is central to all

struggles and that peace is the overriding issue of our times. The Party, therefore, conducts ideological struggle to hold the unity of action together, to raise it to higher levels and to move some of its participants closer to the socialist alternative. In order to play such a role, the Party must constantly strengthen its own ideological understanding.

At all levels of the Party, this style of work is the heart of our mass work and is the basic way we approach the workers and popular masses for joint struggle. The issues of struggle and the exact forms of unity change with time, place and circumstance, but this style of work is not momentary. Without it the Party would be isolated, act alone and the Party and the working class would suffer unnecessary defeats.

The Party fights for immediate demands and for socialism because both are in the interests of the working class and of all working people. Winning of the immediate demands will somewhat lighten the burden of capitalism, while socialism will make a fundamental and lasting change in the lives of the people. Also, there is no way to win socialism without struggling for immediate demands and learning from that process of struggle. Victories are necessary both to win limited improvements in conditions and to build confidence in social struggle and in the strength of the class and people when united. Defeats, however, are sometimes unavoidable. A policy of struggling only for what was certain of victory would be opportunist. The working class is sometimes compelled to fight on issues and in situations in which the balance of forces and other aspects of the situation are unfavorable. There may also be errors of policy that lead to defeat. When defeat is unavoidable, the working class movement has to learn to retreat in such a way that the possibility for new successes is prepared. There are other lessons to be drawn for masses and for the Party from defeats. It is also necessary to learn lessons from mistakes that contribute to defeats.

The issues of struggle are those which are in fact most important for the lives of the working people, as well as those which they are most immediately concerned about and will first act upon. The most important issues and the issues of immediate concern may not be identical at every stage. Our job is gradually to connect them in the process of struggle. There are times when it is not possible to build broad unity right away on a particular issue and Communists must act on it almost alone, but the issue is of such basic significance that activity and struggle are necessary. Examples include some moments in the struggle for the democratic rights of the Communist Party during the height of McCarthyism and the McCarran Act period, or exploring the requirements for a just peace in the Middle East during periods when pro-Zionist propaganda was at its high

point. But when our policies are correct, additional forces join with us and broader unity becomes possible.

There is also the problem at the district level, and even more at the club level, of singling out issues of struggle. Activity on too many fronts with equal emphasis produces insufficient thrust to achieve results on any. It therefore leads to frustration and loss of direction. On some issues it may not be possible to do anything for a while. The decision, however, on which issues should be singled out for immediate action and which ones should wait until later should be made with consultation at the next higher level of leadership. This is necessary so that a planned pattern emerges rather than individual decisions being made.

The problem is, how to interrelate and link up particular issues with the main on-going struggles. Should a club ignore the issues of struggle projected by the Central Committee and/or those projected by the district leadership and stick only to specific neighborhood or shop issues, it will be guilty of a kind of parochialism and violation of democratic centralism which in the long run will weaken the struggle on the local issues. Without the wider perspective that comes in common statewide and national struggles, local issues will stop developing and a given form of unity will fall apart. Also, there may well develop a feeling of inability to win significant changes around strictly local issues and forms of struggle.

On the other hand, an attempt to launch struggles called for by the Central and/or district Committee without regard to the specific neighborhood and shop issues that are agitating the people, in isolation from them, is a mechanical approach. It will rob the activity of any real grass roots base and will not develop far. Skillful combination is necessary.

Out of thousands of local united actions and formations, one formation succeeding another, out of a great many state and regional formations and many national ones, there can be developed a general ongoing coalition of all classes and social forces whose interests clash with monopoly. More and more it will become a definite and more permanent formation with a more and more developed program of demands and struggle. It will take electoral forms, producing a mass party free of the domination of monopoly. The Communist Party plays a key and decisive role in seeing that such development takes place.

In this process the Communist Party helps to clarify the immediate issues of struggle, overcomes obstacles in the path and indicates the longer term direction and the fundamental alternative of socialism by a number of means. This is done verbally by Party spokespeople and individual comrades from within united formations. It is also done in public speaking engagements,

public meetings of the Party, as much as possible through the bourgeois mass media, but especially by the Party's press. Its other periodicals, pamphlets, books and leaflets are also important means, as well as the running of Party candidates for public office. The Party also helps to bring clarity to masses by timely new initiatives of struggle on issues.

Besides adding a class clarity on immediate and fundamental problems, this activity makes an important contribution to the fight for democracy and against repression, reaction and the danger of fascism, since the first line of attack against democratic rights is always the Communists. Such activity helps to win full legality for the Party among masses of people. It also moves large numbers leftward, some to the point of immediate consideration of becoming Communists themselves. This mass style of work in building forms of unity of struggle and the role of Communists in relation to it is, therefore, the starting point for Party building, for recruiting on a large scale.

Such are some of the most important methods of work of the Party in implementing its strategic and tactical line.

IV. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Democratic centralism is the fundamental principle of organization of the Communist Party. Measures with regard to organizational structure and procedure, though they may vary from time to time and in different places and circumstances, conform to this basic principle. Without it the other basic features of a Communist Party would soon be endangered. The ability of the Party to lead the working class and other working people in class struggle with state monopoly capitalism would be seriously hampered and finally destroyed in its absence.

Democratic centralism represents a closely interdependent unity of two aspects—democracy and centralism. Weaken one aspect and the other will also be weakened or greatly distorted.

The Party requires democracy in order to formulate correct policies in a scientific manner. These policies need to be based on the widest experience of the membership and leadership in the practice of class and social struggle. Policies and practical decisions that do not reflect such wide experience and thinking are not likely to be as scientifically correct and helpful in the struggle. Such participation is also necessary if the conscious, creative activity of the entire membership is to come into play.

Thorough explanation of the policies and other decisions of the Party is the starting point of mobilization of the entire Party membership to

participate in carrying out those decisions. Wide participation in Party activity and carrying out policies is an aspect of Party democracy, assuring the maximum development of the entire membership. It assures the most extensive test of practice in reviewing and further developing policy.

There is regular election of all levels of leadership. This is done in conjunction with evaluation of the past work of the individuals and the collectives, in order to assure the selection of collective leadership bodies most capable of guiding the work of the Party.

The ability to replace executive leadership at any time strengthens accountability. Regular reports on work to those who did the electing, to the collective with which each leading comrade functions and to higher bodies all provide elements of accountability. In this, both democratic and centralist aspects are involved. These measures help to assure that the experience and thinking of the membership is reflected in the work of the leadership and that leaders demonstrate high Communist qualities of conduct and leadership. Such centralized control over leadership performance helps to assure that the democratic will of the Party is carried out in the best possible way.

Prior to the adoption of a policy or practical decision the aim is to get the benefit of the widest possible experience and thinking of the Party. After a decision by the particular body authorized to make that kind of decision, all members and leaders in collectives subject to the authority of that body are bound to carry out and support the decision. Democratic participation is synthesized on a centralized basis into a central decision binding on all. But again, centralism here also has the aspect of assuring that the democratic will of the Party is adhered to.

The basic unit of the Party is the club. This is the unit to which all members belong. (See Section VIII, *The Party Club.*)

The highest authority of the district organization is the district convention. Delegates to the district convention are elected either at club conferences or, in larger districts, at section, regional, city or county conventions based on reviews of work, setting of perspectives and election of leadership. At district conventions, the work of the district is reviewed, perspectives for the coming period decided and district committee members and delegates to the National Convention elected.

The highest body of the Party is the National Convention. It reviews the work of the whole Party since the last Convention, sets the national policy for the next period, elects a Central Committee and conducts other business. Its decisions are binding on all. The National Convention represents the democratic experiences and will of the Party that have already

gone through several processes of synthesizing, generalizing and centralizing it on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Those who are in the best position to judge the daily performance of leadership vote on their selection and do it on the basis not only of their individual qualities but on the basis of a review of the total work and policies.

The Central Committee, elected by the National Convention, leads the Party, guided by the Convention decisions, until the next Convention and is the leading body of the Party until then. It elects general officers, a Political Bureau, Organization Bureau and whatever commissions it finds necessary to help conduct its work.

District Committees and their boards and commissions are subordinate to the Central Committee. Section, regional, city and county committees that may exist within a district organization are subordinate to the district committee, and clubs are subordinate to them. This establishes the vertical structure of the Party, indicating whose decisions are binding on whom and the order of appeal of decisions. (See Sections IX-XVII for full details as to the functions of each of the bodies mentioned.)

A decision that has been made can be reviewed by the body making it, or appealed to successively higher levels of the Party organization up to and including the National Convention. While the review or appeal is pending the decision must nevertheless be carried out by all members. Appeals of decisions to the next higher level of the organization are to be heard within 90 days or at the next regular meeting of the committee. Review of a decision by the body which made it is a matter of discretion.

In implementing democratic centralism there are a number of constitutional provisions, as well as questions of style of work, to guarantee its implementation. The Constitution provides that the national leadership as well as other levels of leadership are to assure a maximum of consultation with lower committees, clubs and membership in policy formation, especially with those directly involved. Between Conventions, delegated conferences may be organized to review work, develop policy and exchange and popularize experiences. Whenever possible, decisions on major questions are to be reported to all other Party bodies. There are special provisions to insure a review of policy and to call a special convention when necessary. Only the National Convention can set dues rates and only it or a two-thirds vote of the Central Committee can assess the membership additional funds.

Certain methods that appear democratic from experience in bourgeois democratic organizations may not be sound for a working class, Marxist-Leninist organization based on democratic centralism. For example, dele-

gates to Conventions are not bound to vote the opinions of those who elected them. In most situations there is no problem. The views of those electing the delegate and the most persuasive views of other delegates to the Convention are not in conflict. But each delegate must be free to be persuaded by delegates reflecting experiences and conclusions in other areas of the country and nationally who may present initially conflicting views on what is the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding in the interests of the working class. To be open to being thus persuaded is necessary for the unity of the Party so that the Convention is not just a mechanical tabulating of fixed positions. The fundamental democratic will of the entire Party, of the membership, is that the Convention arrive at the best, most sound policies for the entire Party from the standpoint of our science and class interests. This requires that delegates at a Convention or members at a Central Committee plenum take the best sides of the experience and thinking of comrades from different areas and backgrounds and synthesize them on the basis of consistent Marxist-Leninist principles, thereby producing conclusions qualitatively better than would be the simple addition of the views of all the individuals. This is also why the Party has not found a membership referendum a particularly good form for deciding policy, since it is only a method of adding existing views. Centralism on the basis of democracy requires not only having a feel for what views of the membership are at a given moment, but also what the membership will want them to be, with further objective and subjective development, including the advancement of the entire Party's political level.

The Party elects a leadership which is collectively most able to take all of this into account and lead on the basis of it, rather than merely register fixed views or follow mechanically. Yet the leadership does not learn how to lead, and with what policies, out of its own head, from an elite circle. It can only learn by close connection with life, struggle, the base of the Party in the clubs—the membership, and from non-Party working masses.

Democratic centralism means a struggle for a single policy, one political line on any question throughout the Party. One political line is impossible without a single center of leadership and single organizational line of leadership. This means that democratic centralism and the Party style of work requires that leadership be brought to the various levels of the Party, including to the primary units, the clubs, through the vertical structure of the Party without skipping levels. A Central Committee decision or that of its standing committee, the Political Bureau, reaches club membership

from the National Organization Department through the district leadership and, if it exists, section or other intermediate leadership, to the club executive committee and chairperson. It does not go from a national commission for a given field of struggle to particular members in particular clubs. Nor does it go into a club via a member of the Political Bureau who happens to be a member of the club. Such a method would produce more than one center and organizational line of leadership, undermining the bypassed structure and personnel and eventually resulting in more than one policy emanating from the multi-centers. The proper method permits district and club leadership concretization of the Central Committee or Political Bureau decision, relating it to district and club decisions and thereby making it feasible to carry out the decisions of the various levels. Presence of comrades from leading bodies in a club, when handled properly, strengthens the single center of club leadership and single organizational line of leadership from leading committees to the clubs. They assist rather than replace or weaken club leadership.

A Party body that becomes aware of or involved in developments beyond its defined area of responsibility is expected to take up the matter with the Party body having jurisdiction. Thus, a club would refer district-wide questions to the district leadership, and national developments through the district leadership to the Central Committee office. Any matter of international relations, activities with fraternal parties or organizations abroad would be cleared through the Central Committee office, particularly its International Affairs Department. By the same token, leading bodies discussing matters affecting particular lower Party bodies should consult with them before reaching a conclusion. In making changes in district officers, there is a responsibility of district leadership both to those who elected it and to the whole Party through higher bodies. This latter is reflected in consultation with the Central Committee about proposed changes.

A Party which abandons democratic centralism will not be able to develop and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and thereby indicate the road of struggle and advance. It will be unable to draw democratically on the experience of wide practice, the starting point of policy and theory, and will be unable to put policy to the widespread test of practice for its further refinement and development. It will be unable to maintain close and growing ties with the working class and win its respect and then leadership of the working class movement. This is because the working class needs more than a debating society or individualistic and anarchistic actions for the successful conduct of the class struggle. Workers respect

those who prove by disciplined, organized action that they are on their side and are farsighted as to the line of march.

As can be seen, democratic centralism is indispensable if a party is to be a Communist Party at all.

V. CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

Engaging in criticism and self-criticism, both on an individual basis and on a collective basis, is a primary condition for the growth, development and unity of the Communist Party. The aim of criticism and self-criticism is constantly to strengthen the ability of the Party, its organizations and individual members to better serve the interests of the working class, all working people and humanity.

There are constantly pressures of ruling class and petty bourgeois ideology on the Party. Occasional errors of Party organizations or individuals can, if not corrected, become tendencies and even general departures or "deviations" from Marxism-Leninism. Ideological struggle from the positions of Marxism-Leninism against such influences is permanently necessary for the Communist Party. There are many forms of such struggle, including through the periodicals, pamphlets and books of the Party, schools and classes, and constant practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Though the forms constantly change, in the United States opportunism has been the main character of ruling class ideological pressure on the Party and the working class movement. This involves adapting the working class movement to the interests of the ruling class. It also means capitulating to difficulties created by the ruling class or learning to "live with" those difficulties. Tendencies to liquidate the Communist Party as a Leninist party, to be replaced by an ideologically and organizationally amorphous "broader socialist" organization, have been one of the principal expressions of opportunism historically.

Revisionism is opportunism with respect to the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism, in which still applicable basic concepts are "revised" in the name of "updating" Marxism-Leninism.

Sectarianism, on the other hand, is usually based on a dogmatic attitude toward theory, viewing it as offering a scheme for solving all problems in a way that makes concrete study of reality and further development of theory unnecessary. Sectarianism fails to use available opportunities for revolutionary work. It means a style of work that does not seek to reach out, influence others and draw them into joint struggle. It evades vital issues raised by life itself. As a result of such isolation from masses,

sectarianism prevents a successful fight against monopoly capitalism. At particular moments, sectarianism may become the main danger for a party, a particular organization or an individual.

Usually opportunism is of a right character and sectarianism of a "left" nature. There have also been examples of "left" opportunism and right sectarianism. "Right" and "left" indicate the outward appearance and direction of departures from Marxism-Leninism. Typically in a right error there is a tailing behind developments and the level of the working class, while with a "left" error, there is a skipping of stages and running ahead of the level of the working class and other popular masses. Sometimes an error will combine elements of both opportunism and sectarianism, or of right and "left" manifestations.

Because the ruling class promotes both kinds of influence on the Party, and there is a certain feeding of one by the other, the Party always conducts a struggle on "two fronts," with its main emphasis on right or "left" according to the specific situation. In the strongest imperialist power in the world, however, the main problem has been pressures in a right direction. Pressures from the capitalist environment are inevitable, but departures by the Party from Marxism-Leninism are not. A high level of development of criticism and self-criticism is the best guarantee against them.

Criticism and self-criticism is necessary in order to correct in time such alien class influences. It is needed in order to overcome shortcomings in work and to raise Party standards of behavior of leading personalities and Party bodies. Without its practice, especially in a country such as ours, with highly developed means of influencing the ideology of the entire population, the Party's very life as the Party of the new type would be threatened. That is why any attempt to stifle criticism or not really consider it is regarded most seriously by the Party. The aim of criticism is not to destroy the collective or individual criticized, but to strengthen their ability to contribute to the common cause of the Party.

In carrying out criticism and self-criticism, the objective is to show why what is criticized is contrary to the interests of the working class and Party. That is our standard and standpoint in engaging in criticism and self-criticism. Then the attempt should be made to show how such a mistake came about. The final step is to indicate what should be the new course and how to assure that the correction will be carried out. When criticizing, all these aspects should be attempted, but the inability to do any more than say that something is wrong should not prevent the making of the criticism.

The collective body or individual who is criticized should attempt to make the first aspect of their response a serious consideration of whether there is even a kernel of truth in the criticism. This should be done even if some of the criticism is clearly unfounded in fact or in principle, or is not presented in the best form, or does not offer any corrective course.

Sometimes correction of a mistake will follow easily from a new ideological and political understanding of why the prior position was contrary to the interests of the working class and Party. But sometimes corrections in practical activity and Communist behavior do not occur so easily. Further study, discussion or practical tasks, reassignment of political work or other steps may be necessary to help make the change over a longer period of time.

There are many forms through which criticism and self-criticism may be expressed. Usually, the more connected it is with the work of the Party among the people in struggling for their needs, the more successful and beneficial it will be for the Party. Such connection usually enables the criticism to be seen for what it is more easily. It helps to correct even quite internal errors in a fashion which maintains and strengthens the Party's orientation of leadership in mass struggle rather than an inner orientation of isolated purification which is incapable of success. While the attempt should be made to relate criticism closely to mass struggle, an inability to relate it cannot become a bar to making a criticism.

Perhaps the major form of criticism and self-criticism is the review of past work in connection with posing new policies and/or tasks. At every level of the Party, from National Conventions through club meetings, there should be some point on the agenda which includes at least some review of past decisions and work in connection with dealing with next steps. Criticism and self-criticism can then be exercised with regard to past policies, decisions on practical work, and how they were executed by the collective and by the individuals particularly responsible. Regular reports on the work of all Party bodies are part of democratic centralism and the Party style of work. These reports are made to the collective engaging in the work, to any Party body that elected the collective, and to various higher Party bodies. Full reports on work are required at conventions and club conferences.

In connection with conventions, review of the work of all the comrades in the collective is carried out, covering not only their particular fields of work but also their individual strengths and weaknesses exhibited in the work. Generally, however, the world Communist movement has not found

regular sessions devoted to "criticism and self-criticism" a useful method. This abstracts the process from ongoing work and mass struggle and tends to increase subjective tendencies.

Another method is to place specific points of criticism and self-criticism on the agenda of Party bodies. Letters to Party bodies and periodicals are still another method. During educational sessions, either at club meetings or in classes, seminars and schools, the expression of questions and differences on the subject under discussion and their resolution are also a form of criticism and self-criticism.

There are some questions of criticism or self-criticism that should be posed to the individual or collective right away. They are of such consequence that allowing time to pass or not raising them at all does substantial harm to the Party and the individuals involved. While the context and situation must always be taken into account as to what is in the Party's interest, questions that disrupt the Party's unity such as expressions of white chauvinism and male supremacy and anti-Party statements clearly need immediate challenge. But if every comrade always raised right away every criticism, practical as well as principled, secondary as well as primary, the Party would be continually embroiled in internal dispute of a very subjective nature. It would be unable to act in the class struggle among the masses. It would be disrupted. A sense of proportion that arises from adherence to the class struggle objectives of the Party, and of the exercise of criticism and self-criticism, is necessary. It is necessary to assure that there is always some significant avenue for expression of criticism and self-criticism on substantial questions, with immediate airing of questions requiring it. Other questions should be handled in a way that is most constructive for the Party's work and the individual comrades involved.

While the collective has a responsibility to decide when and how it will consider criticism and self-criticism in the light of the total situation, it has the duty to provide some timely means for such expression.

If a criticism has merit it is worth making in a proper Party forum. Otherwise it is gossip or of a factional nature. As such it is harmful to those criticized and to the whole Party and is the fertile soil that opponents of the Party exploit. While a wide latitude is given to criticism and self-criticism, the Party does not permit within its ranks criticism and self-criticism that is made from an anti-Party standpoint and that aims at dividing the Party and promoting factionalism rather than uniting it on the principled grounds of Marxism-Leninism. As Lenin pointed out, the Party program and Constitution are guides for determining what is anti-Party.

VI. COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Democratic centralism and the Party style of work require that the work of every member and leader be subject to collective guidance and control. This means collective discussions by the appropriate Party body of the work of everyone. No matter how brilliant, able and politically developed a comrade is, he or she will benefit from the collective thinking and experience of co-workers and of the whole Party. Collectivity improves the work of the collective and of the individual and prevents mistakes that might otherwise be committed.

Collectivity demands that the individual consult the collective whenever at all possible and through various means, on all important questions. Such a style strengthens the qualities in the individual of respect for the class and Party, social responsibility and discipline as a Communist and human being. It not only does not contradict the development of individual initiative and ability to orient, but strengthens these qualities by assuring that their content will be successful, by corresponding to the collective class and Party interest.

Collectivity is most important on policy questions and the main means of implementation. Attempts to discuss out every detail of the practical activity of every member of a collective would prevent real collective discussion and collective leadership on the major questions of ideology and politics and implementation that determine the detailed practical tasks. Also, such an unnecessary method limits the development of individual initiative and ability to orient. Extra long and extra frequent meetings in the name of collectivity do not strengthen it but rather reveal incorrect methods of work, of organization of meetings, and perhaps also errors of politics and ideology.

Collectivity and individual responsibility are interdependent concepts. Each is required for the maximum development of the other. A collective in which there is no clearly fixed responsibility of individual members means that the collective will has no effective means of execution and therefore no reason for existing.

Every collective body must have an individual political leader as well as a collective leadership if individual responsibility is to be clearly fixed for execution of the collective will. This is also necessary in order to assure decisive action that enables policy to be assessed in the light of practice. It helps assure one political line and one organizational line of leadership, necessary for the successful pursuit of the class struggle. There is always uneven development among the members of a collective, and the

collective needs and deserves the benefit of its most advanced members fulfilling responsibilities of leadership.

There is also a need for a proper division of labor of leading cadre among various assignments in the Party organization and availability for election to leadership in non-Party organizations. Particular historical development also influences this division of labor.

Communists judge cadre for leadership on the basis of their proven qualities: (1) devotion to the cause of the working class and Party, (2) political development and ability to apply the science of Marxism-Leninism, (3) capabilities, (4) ability to learn and develop.

Leadership has the responsibility to the membership to lead the work which can only be done by consulting the membership and masses of working people widely and listening and learning from their thinking and experience. It also has a responsibility to the membership to help develop each and everyone's fullest potential and contributions to the struggle. It has a responsibility to help develop others into leading cadre.

The membership has a responsibility to the leadership to help them to be able to function as an authoritative leadership, including through comradely criticism. The Party rejects bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts that there is a necessary conflict of interest between leaders and members of a competitive and mutually destructive nature. From a working class and Marxist-Leninist point of view there is a fundamental identity and interdependence of interests, and the Party struggles against internal reflections of a contrary point of view and practice.

In selecting a leadership collective, not only the individual qualities are considered on the basis indicated but also the qualities of the collective as a whole in which the various individual strengths and experiences combine to make up for other individual weaknesses and lack of experience. The political standard in regard to the collective is the first consideration but the class, national and social composition of the collective is of great importance, having also a bearing on the political level.

In considering a leadership collective the Party ordinarily gives great weight both to the need for continuity of leadership and regular, planned refreshment of it. Continuity is necessary because the class struggle requires experience and also particular functions are not mastered overnight. The Party must be able to learn from past successes and defeats, from correct policies and activities and from mistakes. Regular refreshment is needed to guarantee the long term future. Often it is also highly useful in adding new experiences and judgments that can encourage a collective to take a step back and take a new look.

VII. MEMBERSHIP

Any resident of the United States 18 years of age or over is eligible to become a member of the Communist Party. The age requirement may be waived in individual cases by a majority vote of the district committee when, in its judgment, special circumstances warrant.

An applicant for membership needs to be recommended for membership by at least two members in good standing. Such an application must be approved by a majority vote of the club to which the application is presented.

For admission to the Party and continued membership in the Party, a person must accept the Party Program and Constitution, belong to a Party club, participate in the work of the Party, pay dues and be willing to carry out the decisions of the Party. The standard of "acceptance of the Party Program and Constitution" does not require prior mastery of Marxism-Leninism but rather a sincere *desire* to support the main principles of the Program and Constitution.

The application should be presented to the particular club to which the new member should belong. In exceptional cases an applicant may be known better in day-to-day activity by the membership of another club. It is permissible for this club to act on the application, but only when the applicant is not known to the members of the club to which the new member would normally be assigned.

The new member's club assignment should be made by the district organization department unless this authority is delegated to lower bodies. Normally the assignment is made on the basis of place of work or living, but in special circumstances the new member may be assigned to the club of admission, or to another club temporarily in order to help in consolidation of his or her membership in the Party.

In an area in which there are no nearby clubs an application for membership may be presented to and acted on, in a manner similar to that in a club, by the next highest body having jurisdiction over that area. The new member would then be assigned to the nearest appropriate club.

Should an applicant for membership be refused admission by majority vote of a club, the reason for refusal should be given to the next highest body. A person turned down by one club may not apply to another. A Party member may appeal a club decision on admission. A higher body may overrule a club decision on admission or denial of admission.

A member who falls three months in arrears in dues is no longer a member in good standing and is to be so informed. A member six months

in arrears is dropped from membership after an effort is made by personal interview to bring him or her into good standing. A person who has been so dropped can apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the club, is permitted to pay back dues and regain his or her former standing.

The Constitution of the Communist Party provides for a number of rights and duties of Party members, including the following:

Every member has the right and duty to participate in making and implementing Party policy and in internal elections. Members may criticize the work of all leading committees and individual leaders regardless of position, for shortcomings, errors or unbecoming conduct, provided it is done in appropriate Party bodies or publications. A member may address a question or statement to a leading committee, which is then required to respond as promptly as possible.

A member has the right to express openly and uphold his or her opinion or differences on any question as long as the Party organization has not adopted a contrary decision. This may be done in meetings of Party organizations and in authorized publications. After a decision has been taken on either a practical matter or a line of policy, members may ask questions about it with the aim of clarifying it for themselves. In educational forms such as classes, schools, seminars and club educationals, a wide latitude for questioning and expression of disagreement is necessary. Even these situations, however, are not to be used as a platform for continued struggle against Party decisions and accepted theoretical propositions that becomes disruptive to Party life and unity. The provisions for pre-decision discussion, review, appeal and pre-convention discussion periods provide the necessary avenue for expression of views, including differing views. (Rights of appeal and review are discussed in Section IV, *Democratic Centralism.*)

A member is to strive to attend all club meetings, initiate activity, work for the aims and policies of the Party, win new members and read, circulate, financially support and help improve Party publications. The member is also to strive to improve his or her political knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

All members have the duty to struggle for the unity and the other needs of the working class, against all forms of national oppression and chauvinism, discrimination and segregation, all racist ideologies and practices such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism, and for the full political, economic and social equality of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian, Asian-American peoples and other oppressed national minorities. All members are to promote both unity of the specially oppressed peoples and

their unity with white working people, and especially Black-white unity, as essential to advancing their common interests.

It is also the obligation of all members to struggle against all manifestations of male supremacy and discrimination against women and for women's full political, economic and social equality. All members who are eligible are to be active trade union members and are to register and vote in all political elections. A member who has been denied U.S. citizenship through undemocratic laws and practices will be assisted in attaining citizenship by the Party.

The Party constantly strives to raise the standards of the whole Party, of all its organizations, members and leaders. Its leaders are expected to set a good example. Such questions include opposition to sexual promiscuity, excessive drinking or distribution or use of certain drugs. When these activities are illegal, they give the ruling class an added tool with which to attack the Party or seek to penetrate it. The working class cannot and does not have confidence in the seriousness of an organization that permits such practices to go unchallenged. Such practices make the Party less able to engage in rational, class conscious social struggle and become diversions from the struggle.

Besides constantly striving to raise the level of and the grasp of the science of society, Marxism-Leninism, and to raise the level of competency in Party tasks, there are certain key ideological questions on which the Party is especially anxious continually to raise standards. There is the question of deepening the understanding of the historic role of the working class, the need for a working class standpoint on all questions and constant orientation toward the workers.

The struggle for Black liberation and against all expressions of ruling class racism and white chauvinism is central to all struggles for social progress. This requires constantly raising the level of struggle against mass expressions and internal expressions, whether intentional or not, if there is to be a united, class conscious working class and strong Communist Party. Forms of racism and national chauvinism against Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indian and Asian-American peoples are also important questions of standards as are all forms of national chauvinism and national exclusiveness and expressions of male supremacy.

Unalterable opposition to aggressive actions of one's own imperialism and solidarity with peoples oppressed or threatened by it is also a hallmark of a revolutionary. For the Party in the bastion of world imperialism, this is an important question of standards.

The key instrument of imperialist reaction to justify its aggressive actions

is anti-Sovietism. This is also a decisive instrument along with anti-communism in general to prevent working masses from moving leftward and to the Communist Party. Since the Soviet Union is such a strong and leading detachment of the world working class movement, it is only natural that U.S. imperialism should make it such a target even when the United States is compelled by the real relationship of forces to adhere to a policy of detente. Communist standards for our Party especially have to be very high in resisting this anti-Soviet poison.

Finally, it is necessary constantly to deepen the understanding of the historically necessary role of the Communist Party, U.S.A., that its leading role is indispensable to a socialist revolution and to the ongoing struggle for democracy and social progress. No organization or movement can or will replace it. Every variety of pressure to liquidate the Communist Party, through repression, attempts to isolate it, and under cover of right and "left" opportunism and revisions of Marxism-Leninism, is applied by the ruling class. No matter what weaknesses the Communist Party may have on these questions of standards, the source is capitalism and its ideology. The inherent working class, Marxist-Leninist character of the Party is the only possible source for overcoming them, both within the Party and in society as a whole. On these and other questions there is a never-ending struggle to raise Party standards.

If it becomes necessary for a member to be transferred to another club, there is an established procedure for this. The original club's leadership fills out a transfer form and writes up a short evaluation of the work of the comrade. This is then transmitted by the club to the district organization. If the member has moved out of the district, a copy of the transfer and evaluation is sent to the Central Committee Organization Department. The member being transferred is not entitled to participate in a new club until the new club has received the transfer form. For a member in good standing the original transfer form is to be issued within 30 days of the request by the transferring member.

VIII. THE PARTY CLUB

Presented below are the general principles of club organization and functioning. The direction in which we strive to develop our clubs is presented. What is presented for the most part is a model club. Probably there is not a single club, even the best, that fits this model 100%. As a matter of fact, it would be incorrect if any club tried to fit it because then it would not reflect the particular features of the area of responsibility of that club, its size and its personnel.

What may be correct for a club of five members will not be correct for a club of 25. The kind of shop or neighborhood in which the club works, its social composition, its age composition, the relative level of Party consciousness of its membership, will all have a great bearing on how to develop the club in the directions indicated. There can be no blueprint and great flexibility is required. Yet, the direction in which the Party strives is not at all arbitrary.

A. PLACE OF THE CLUB IN THE PARTY SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION

The club is the basic organizational unit of the Communist Party. It is the only organizational form that all members are required to belong to, and through which the status of their Party membership is determined. It is the form through which the Party has the widest contact with the working class and masses of people, thereby gaining a knowledge of their problems, aspirations and struggles. It is the widest and most important form through which the Party can reach these same masses to influence their thinking, and initiate and participate in struggles for their needs. The experience and thinking of the club must be the starting point for all policies and decisions of section, county and district committees; and of the National Convention, the Central Committee and its standing committees. It must also be the concluding point of their policies and decisions, for here they must receive the widest test of application among the masses. There can be no approach, therefore, to building the Communist Party that does not focus on building and strengthening the clubs as the primary unit of the Party.

B. PURPOSE OF THE CLUB

The club has the aim of organizing, initiating and participating in the struggles of the workers and other popular masses who are within its area of responsibility, for their needs, based on the policies of the Party. Its eventual aim is to win these masses as a whole to support the Party's policies, including the socialist goal. Its aim is also to build the Party among these people and at the same time to develop Communist qualities of its own membership to the maximum.

C. THE CLUB AS ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF MASS STRUGGLE

The Communist Party exists to organize and help guide the mass struggles of workers, Black and other specially oppressed peoples, and all working

people, for their daily needs and for socialism. The acid test of a good club, therefore, is its role in mass struggle. Mass struggle must, therefore, be the center of the total activity of the club, of its meetings and executive committee meetings, of its ideological, political and organizational work. To be able to organize and lead struggles and to win masses for the policies of the Party, the club must have ever-growing mass ties and connections. It must have ever-deepening knowledge of its area of responsibility.

1. The Necessary Knowledge

The following are the kinds of knowledge required.

a. Extent of area of responsibility.

For a shop club this is clear. For which shops is the industrial club responsible? What are the geographical boundaries of a neighborhood club's area?

b. The people within the area of responsibility.

This includes size of population, class, national, sex and age composition, party affiliations, religious beliefs, number of registered voters, union connections.

c. Organizations.

This includes size, makeup, character of activities, leadership, political trends of all the organizations in the neighborhood, shop or industry such as rank and file movements, union committees, political clubs, fraternal and nationality organizations, civic or improvement groups, parents' associations, youth groups, women's clubs, churches, movement organizations of social struggle, etc.

d. Issues.

What objectively are the most important issues facing the workers in the shop, industry or neighborhood? Which issues are they most agitated by? (This may be different from the most important issues.) What is happening on these issues? Which forces have a positive position and which have a negative position on these issues?

e. Political Action.

The club should know the various election districts, office-holders, the electoral calendar, the particular character of political parties and electoral

formations in the area.

Obtaining such information is not simply a matter of research. Much of it comes in the process of activity. Absence of some information should not hold back struggle initiatives.

2. Special Communist Contributions to Mass Struggles

a. Club Strategy.

Every club should have a strategic aim and line for its area of responsibility. This will be a concrete application of the strategic line of the Party Program as implemented on the district, county and section levels. For a neighborhood club this might be to build the coalition of anti-monopoly forces around a specific program of struggle to the point where they become dominant over the forces of monopoly in that community. This club or more than one club (several) may embrace the territory of a councilmanic, assembly or congressional district and the achievement of the strategic aim might be registered in election of an anti-monopoly candidate of the coalition.

The strategic line is to build a coalition of the class and social forces which exist in that neighborhood who have a stake in fighting the impact of the monopolies there. Usually this will consist of projecting workers, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, other specially oppressed and white, as the leading force in the coalition, with the whole Black community as their main ally. Strategy also requires identification of the main enemy, the local expressions of monopoly domination, and of those whom we aim to neutralize but have no expectation of winning for progressive struggle because of their class position.

For a shop club, the strategic aim is to change the balance of forces in the shop between the company and the workers. The strategic line is to unite the workers based on the left current, building a following among workers in the decisive departments—production workers, etc. The left current would act in coalition with center currents among the workers, struggling for a rank and file shop program. It would seek to develop trade union consciousness, and within that, a class conscious group that goes beyond the direct economic questions in the shop. Identification of the enemy is not only a matter of pointing to the company itself and supervisory employees, but also to any definite company people planted or bought by the company who may be in the union or in the shop. A strategic victory may be a contract which reflects a shift in the balance of forces or some

victory over grievances that reflects it. Election of a union leadership that reflects the left-center coalition, one that is trade union conscious or even class conscious rather than consciously or unconsciously class collaborationist, would be a sign that the balance of forces is shifting.

b. The Issues of Struggle.

A complex judgment is involved in the club's collectively selecting the issue or issues for concentrated effort around and through which the strategic coalition will be built. We must know which issues are objectively most important for the basic sections of the population, and also what they are most agitated about and what they will move on most easily. What is true on issues for the country or district as a whole may not be the same for the particular area of responsibility of the given club. The practical possibilities of the club, considering its forces and their connections, will also have to be considered in the club's selection of the issue or issues that will serve as the key link for concentrated effort in order to move us fastest along the strategic path agreed upon.

The way in which issues are interrelated in the course of struggle should also reflect the consideration of these different aspects of the national and local picture. The daily issues of struggle and organization are tactical questions which may be valid for some time or change rapidly in the pursuit of the strategic aim. When the focus of struggle is a national issue, the club should try to link it with a related burning local issue, and when the focus is a local issue, to link it with the central national struggles. Attentiveness to seemingly small issues that agitate the masses is important. Struggle, motion, once begun, opens up many new possibilities. Failure to initiate activities around the central national or district issues, or a tendency to ignore them and not link them with existing struggles on local issues, would be to dissipate the efforts of the Party and limit the value of a democratic centralist organization; substituting autonomous local groups in a federated type organization. It would reflect local provincialism and exceptionalism. Action on every national and district issue without strong links to issues developing out of local circumstances would be mechanical and would rob the national movements and the Party of the necessary building up of grass roots ties. Any particular issue of struggle that assumes central objective importance to the total national balance of forces at a given moment should be related by every club and every member to his or her work in some way.

Among the many issues that U.S. state monopoly capitalism imposes on the people, around which the club will organize struggles according to

national and district decisions and its own circumstances, are:

- U.S. imperialist aggression, threatening of world peace, and militarism.
- Racism—seen in the last-hired-first-fired system, greater unemployment, harder, dirtier, less safe jobs, lower pay and job classification, failure to upgrade, poorer quality education with suppression of national culture, lack of community services, discrimination in housing, police brutality, higher prices and poorer quality goods, etc.
- Unemployment and job insecurity, wages and working conditions, management prerogatives, health and retirement plans, anti-labor legislation.
- Repression of Communist and progressive political activity, racist repression in the ghettos and barrios.
- Housing, schools, health, day care, recreation facilities, mass transit, taxes, air, water and food pollution, inflation, welfare, etc.

In all these struggles, all clubs have certain common tasks essential for the achievement of the strategic aims. (See Section f, *Daily Living Needs and Common Features of All Struggles.*)

No club can respond to every single issue. In consultation with higher bodies, it needs to select the one or two issues on which it will concentrate effort at any given time. Other issues will not be acted on at all or only secondarily, or will be interwoven with the issue or two singled out.

c. Industrial Concentration.

No matter what the issue or the organizational instruments, the aim should be to reach workers, especially those in basic industry, and draw them into the struggle and into its leadership. This can best be done by linking the particular issue with the immediate needs of the workers.

All clubs should develop the widest support for the immediate struggles of the workers, such as in major negotiations and strike struggles, in opposition to anti-labor legislation and in support of pro-labor legislation. They should show the various mass organizations and movements in which club members participate their own stake in supporting such labor struggles.

Every club should reflect industrial concentration by singling out a shop (a department in the case of a shop club) for concentrated effort over a period of time to build the influence of the Party's policies and build a shop club. If there is no important shop in the territory of a neighborhood club, then a working class housing project or an area of a few blocks may be the point of concentration with the aim of building a Party club there.

A club, in addition to having such a specific place for industrial concentration within its own area of responsibility, may be assigned by a higher body to assist with industrial concentration at a nearby plant or

place of work or union hall that is of district-wide or national importance.

d. The Fight for Unity.

Around every issue and club activity, all clubs seek to build unity in progressive struggle; working class solidarity in the first place. The heart of class solidarity as well as of multi-class popular unity is Black and white unity. Such unity can only be built based on the struggle of Black and white for the special needs of the Black people, and against influences of racism, a ruling class ideology, among white working masses. The struggle for the special needs of Black people and against all expressions and reflections of racism must, therefore, be part and parcel of every social struggle. This will include the full participation of Black people in the leadership of all people's organizations. Such an approach to the struggle for the special needs of the Black community and against all manifestations of discrimination and racist and white chauvinist ideology reflects the Party's estimate that this struggle is central to all social struggle and progressive development in the U.S.

Influenced to some extent by location, the same could be said of the necessity always to struggle for the special needs of and against chauvinism aimed at Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indians and Asian-Americans. In order to develop class unity and popular unity, there must also be a fight for the special needs of youth and women, and against anti-youth and male supremacist expressions of ruling class ideology. The struggle against all internal club reflections of such ruling class ideology should be connected with the mass struggle on these questions. The fight for unity also requires a struggle against anti-communism and its most virulent international form, anti-Sovietism.

The struggle for unity is a permanent feature in all club work. Depending on the objective of the given struggle, there will be a necessary minimum basis for unity of action. We continuously work to widen the support for the struggle. We work to overcome obstacles to that unity and to develop at least a section, if not the whole movement, to new higher levels of unity of action through ideological struggle, leadership by example, etc.

e. Growth of the Party's Influence.

In every activity all clubs should constantly seek to increase not only the influence of the policies of the Party but also recognition of the Party itself as a legitimate and progressive organization on the U.S. scene. The forms will vary with the general level of legality among the masses which the Party has achieved throughout the country and according to the cir-

cumstances of the club and its individual members. In every situation, however, the effort must be made to use to the fullest every opportunity for increasing the Party's mass recognition.

Such recognition of the Party disarms the ruling class of its splitting weapon of anti-communism. It helps the Party to extend the influence of its policies more rapidly and moves toward the situation in which the Party will become the acknowledged leader of the working class and popular masses in struggle for their daily needs and for socialism.

The objective is not only to make known the Party's policy positions but to make its role in struggle visible to masses. The most minimum form is the mass work by every club member in such a way that a constantly growing circle of co-workers, neighbors, etc., know that the person is a Communist.

Systematic work by the whole club in circulating the *Daily World*, and the *People's World* (on the West Coast), is the most important means for influencing masses and winning full recognition of the Party. Such work provides a major means for developing every other kind of mass work and contact with the people. Circulation of *Political Affairs* and of pamphlets and books is similarly important.

Regular distribution of leaflets at the point of concentration of the club, a neighborhood or shop paper, forums, a club Party spokesperson, etc., are other forms for achieving mass recognition.

In addition to initiation and participation in broader mass organizations and movements, every club should seek to build some close, left forms which will help bring the influence of Party policy in action to wider masses and move the most advanced sections toward the club. Every club should aim to help build a parallel branch of the Young Workers Liberation League and other forms such as a Friends of the *Daily World* or *People's World* press builders club. In some cases, two or more clubs will have to combine efforts in developing such forms.

f. Daily Living Needs and Common Features of All Struggles.

The starting point for influence among workers and popular masses and of being able continuously to raise their level of understanding and struggle is full involvement on the "bread-and-butter" issues. These issues include wages, job security and conditions in the shops. In the neighborhood, the fight for jobs and against unemployment and inflation, around adequate education, housing, day care, health, recreation and mass transit facilities are such issues. Especially during economic crises, the issues of mass unemployment and runaway inflation must become the foundation of all

Party work. This is what gives its work a grass roots character in which the Party becomes inseparable from the masses and their interests.

It is in the course of carrying out this type of daily activity that the fight for peace, for expansion and preservation of democracy against attacks from reaction, against all forms of racism, for independent political action and socialism can gain a firm and mass base of support. Failure to connect these struggles to a foundation of daily "bread-and-butter" struggles condemns them to relative isolation from masses of working people and weakens them. On the other hand, failure to connect such daily struggles to the fight for peace, democracy, independent political action and against racism and for socialism is a form of opportunism. It is "economism" and reformism which condemns working masses to face the same daily living problems over and over, without any basic solutions.

As is evident, there are several concepts that should be applied in all Party activity. They are necessary and interdependent concepts which, when applied correctly, in no way contradict each other but rather reinforce each other. These are:

1. Peace is the overriding issue of our times. Progress and solution of all other issues are dependent on advancing this struggle for making detente irreversible, for disarmament and for anti-imperialist solidarity. Therefore, we attempt to connect all struggles with the fight for peace. In this way we bring added grass roots strength to the peace struggle as well as show the objective necessity for progress on the peace front in order to win more substantial gains anywhere else.

2. The fight against racism is central to all struggles. This involves building class unity and popular anti-monopoly unity in all struggles by defeating attempts to disrupt it with racism. It means taking up the special expressions in every struggle of racist practice which impose inferior conditions on Black and other specially oppressed peoples, with a program to assure equality, including through compensatory measures to overcome past discrimination.

3. Approaching all struggles on the basis of applying industrial concentration. This involves questions of where we concentrate our efforts, the fight for working class leadership in struggles, and the issues and forms of struggle that reflect this approach. It also means approaching all questions from the standpoint of the interests of the working class.

4. The struggle for unity of action for common goals with the aim of overcoming and rejecting everything that divides.

5. Making the foundation of Party mass activity the daily living needs of the masses, the so-called "bread-and-butter" issues. We then use this

foundation to deepen understanding and activity on other issues.

D. ORGANIZATION OF THE CLUB

1. Area of Responsibility and Types of Clubs

Every club should have a clearly defined area of responsibility, determined by a leading Party body. For a neighborhood club, the geographic boundaries should be clear, as well as the shop, housing project or few-block area which constitutes its concentration point within those boundaries. A territorial club that is assigned responsibility for work in more than one neighborhood should single out the key neighborhood within its area of responsibility for concentration of efforts to break off a new, real neighborhood club. At the same time, each comrade who lives in bordering neighborhoods should receive help from the club collective with regard to any work to which they are assigned in such other neighborhoods.

A real neighborhood is determined by such factors as the area covered by mass-based spontaneous organizations, the area from which people gravitate toward the economic and social center of the territory, the existence of natural boundaries somewhat cutting it off from surrounding areas and what has been historically treated as a single neighborhood.

For an industrial club, which by nature is transitional to the development of shop clubs, the shops of that industry for which it is responsible should be clearly defined as well as the shop of concentration in which to build the first shop club. For a shop club, the department of concentration should be clear. Shop and single neighborhood clubs are the two types of clubs the Party tries to build. Industrial clubs are transitional forms toward the building of shop clubs. Clubs covering several neighborhoods are transitional to single neighborhood clubs.

In special circumstances a club composed of members in a given profession may be justified, or some other temporary type of club. Functional or mass work clubs built around a particular type of mass work are not favored. They tend to develop a one-sided political approach to their work, since other types of work are separated from it.

The Party club, being the basic unit of the Party, must be more than an organization giving strategic and tactical guidance to its members' participation in a particular kind of mass movement or organization. It seeks to build class and people's unity in struggle for ever more advanced objectives across lines of particular organizations and movements. It seeks to overcome ideological backwardness that often reflects developments in a particular organization or movement. It seeks to develop class and social-

ist consciousness among the people and ever higher standards of Communist understanding and behavior for its own members. Shop and neighborhood clubs make these tasks easier, while functional clubs such as a trade union or particular mass movement club tend to make them more difficult to pursue.

Special needs of comrades from different clubs involved in similar mass work can be met through district commissions and/or periodic caucus meetings, so long as their discussions are made a part of the club life.

Clubs in the Black community or barrio will tend to be all Black, Chicano or Puerto Rican, as the case may be. For a short period of time after recruitment of new members, a district may find it expedient to form a new club not based on the shop, industry or neighborhood principle in order to consolidate the new members into the Party and prepare a proper home for them in the regular club structure. Such transitional club forms may especially appear useful with respect to specially oppressed peoples. The Communist Party, being the party representing the unity of interests of the whole working class, does not consider it a correct general principle of club organization, however, to establish clubs for the purpose of representing different segments of the class based on nationality, race, sex or age.

National and district commissions concerned with the fight for the needs of the specially oppressed, while composed substantially of those who are so oppressed, also are made up of those who can mobilize the whole Party and especially those who must carry the main burden of winning the foremost potential allies for the struggle.

The Party builds clubs on the basis of shop and neighborhood because these are the only types of clubs that can give the Party deep grass roots ties with workers and popular masses around all the problems they face in their living and working situations.

2. Club Size

A club may be as small as three, such as three workers in one shop or three people in one housing project. Clubs have been as large as 60 to 100 people, meeting once a month and functioning between meetings in committees or teams based on an immediate community, mass work or even Party activity. Generally clubs are growing in size after the impact of McCarthyism, and the better clubs usually range from 8 to 15 members.

The main considerations should be:

a. To make the club as nearly as possible a shop club or real neighbor-

hood club.

b. At the same time, to guarantee that it has enough members and the right combination of members to assure mass initiatives, a vital club life, and Party and press building consciousness, with the objective of building real shop and/or neighborhood clubs out of the original club. Three people in a shop club who are very active and conscious of the need for recruiting will rapidly produce a larger club. Three who do not have such consciousness are better off in a larger, more vital industrial club, for they are not likely to function as a real Party organization with three alone.

3. The Club Conference

Once a year the Club should have an expanded meeting—a club conference. In convention years this should be during the pre-convention discussion period and prior to the district convention and any section or county conventions. The purpose of the club conference is:

a. To review the previous year's work.

b. To set forth the political line and main tasks for the coming year within the framework of the Party Program and national, district, county and section policies and the club's strategic line (or a new club strategic line presented to the conference).

c. To adopt a club plan of work based on the political perspective set forth for a year's time.

d. To elect club officers and the club executive committee, and if a convention is to be held, delegates to the convention of the next higher body.

4. The Club Plan of Work

This should be prepared by the club executive committee and be acted on by the whole club at its conference or other full club meeting. The plan should leave room for unforeseen developments, including tasks assigned by higher bodies.

The heart of the plan should be mass struggle and our special ideological, political and organizational contributions to it and its direction toward achieving the Party's and club's strategic aim. All the work outlined in the plan should contribute to the building of the club in the shop or neighborhood of concentration if it is an industrial or multi-neighborhood club with the aim of establishing a new shop or single neighborhood club. All activities in the plan should be pointed toward the shop or department of concentration, or in the case of a neighborhood club to the shop, union hall, housing project or few-block area of industrial concen-

tration, as the case may be. It should single out the central mass issues to work on for the period of the plan that contribute to winning the strategic aim of the club and building the unity and alliances necessary for winning this aim. It should indicate the many organizational forms around which struggle on these issues will be developed, and the disposition of our forces. It may indicate one or more broader forms that are to be built for these struggles. It will indicate how our press and literature will be used to help these struggles and what leaflets will be needed, and how any possible public forum can be helpful.

The club plan, in addition to indicating the club's work in organizing struggle and in agitational work preparing for the next levels of struggle, should also project active propagandizing for socialism. This will include how to reach out widely with the *Program of the Communist Party, U.S.A.* and with pamphlets dealing with socialism, the use of the Marxist-Leninist press, and other national and district materials. It will also include how the question of socialism will be injected into a community left forum or linked with immediate questions in a series of club leaflets, etc. A properly balanced program of activities of any Party organization should include not only struggle initiatives and agitational work, but also propaganda for socialism, the exact balance among these three aspects being determined by the particular circumstances.

The plan should include the educational work of the club for the period, starting from an estimate of what will be the main ideological obstacles encountered in the mass tasks; which press, literature and leaflet forms can help to overcome them, and how club meeting educationals, club classes or a club-organized study group of friends can prepare us to meet the mass ideological questions. The educational program should also start from an estimate of what are the key problems hindering the club's development and growth. It should include working out the club meeting educationals, club classes, etc., and participation by club members in district and national schools to meet these problems. It should include cadre development for the work of the club.

The plan should include a special section on the building of the *Daily World,* and the *People's World* (on the West Coast). It should include how every member will use the press in some way: get subs from co-workers, friends, neighbors, contacts in mass organizations; participate in regular sales at the concentration shop or housing project. It should include plans for developing a route, mobilizations for mass demonstrations, etc., possibly in cooperation with another club. How will the paper be used to influence the mass developments? How will the club help

build a press builders organization of Party and non-Party people?

The plan should include the use of *Political Affairs* and *Party Affairs* and of advanced non-Party publications, and the use of pamphlets and books.

The club plan of work should include a recruiting plan. The thrust of the plan should be toward workers in basic industry and within that, toward Black workers, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, other specially oppressed workers, youth and women, and toward militant activists. Wherever there is a club member who is the lone Communist in a shop, a neighborhood or mass organization, the central task for the whole club is to help that member recruit another Communist and thereby open up the possibility for real collective struggle and organization there and the building of a new club in that shop or neighborhood.

Goals should be set and prospective new members listed and assignments made. In addition to the mass activities discussed—the use of Marxist press and literature, the building of close left organizations and other mass educational forms—special forms for recruiting should be developed. These include Marxist study or discussion groups, classes for those considering membership, sample club meetings open to attendance by invited guests, and club social and cultural events. Regular checkup on progress is required.

The plan should include social, cultural and fund raising activities and the fight for higher standards of club functioning. Those aspects of the plan that are dependent on what the Party itself does can be more definite as to quantity and quality and time period, whereas the other tasks can be stated only in terms of broad aim. Without a plan, however, the club will do individual good deeds but perspective, development, a real sense of accomplishment and confidence that the Party is going forward and changing the situation for the people will be missing.

5. The Club Meeting

The whole club should meet regularly every two weeks. There may be emergency periods when a weekly interval is required. Where great distances, of 50 miles or so are involved, or clubs on the order of 50 or more members exist, a meeting every 3 or 4 weeks may be satisfactory. Experience shows that there is not a correct understanding of the role of the Party and its relationship to masses in struggle when the clubs meet either less or more frequently.

The club meeting, except in a special emergency, should last 1½ to 3 hours, more likely 2 to 2½ hours. Shorter meetings indicate that there is a lack of feeling that the Party is needed to give collective leadership

to mass struggle and to change the course of events. Longer meetings also indicate problems. They may indicate difficulty in deciding priorities based on the wrong estimate that "everything is crucial." They may reflect a rigid, mechanical approach to mass activity with an attempt to predetermine every detail. They may also reflect internal differences. There should be a regular meeting time so that it can be planned upon. Since the club is the basic unit and Party membership is determined in relation to the club, attendance at club meetings is very important for all members. The meeting time should, therefore, be set to insure maximum attendance, and not to test the revolutionary zeal of members.

Every club meeting should begin with adoption of an agenda presented by the club executive committee, or in its absence, by the club chairperson or another officer. The agenda and the club meeting should show prior preparation. The person chairing the club meeting can be either the club chairperson or another executive committee member, or there can be a rotating chairing of meetings.

The heart of the club agenda should be mass struggle with every point on the agenda finding its relationship to mass struggle, including the educational, political discussions, organizational and checkup points.

It is best to begin each meeting with an educational. This can be 30 to 60 minutes in length. Having the educational at the start of the meeting guarantees that it is not postponed as the least pressing business. Every meeting should have an educational because it is the only guarantee that all members receive some Party education aimed at helping develop their contribution to the cause of the Party. This also assures that there is a certain common ideological basis for the political work to start from. Many forms are possible. The subject matter may be a theoretical question, a current development, an ideological problem in the mass movement or in the Party, etc. But it is best that whatever the subject, it flow from an estimate of what the club needs to carry forward its work, not just a nice subject that a couple of people are kind of interested in. The form may vary. A leading comrade may be invited to make a presentation or lead a discussion, or a club officer or member may do the same. The basis may be a *Political Affairs* or *Daily World* (or *People's World*) article or a pamphlet. Even where the form is an extended presentation, there should be time allowed for questions and discussion.

A major portion of the club meeting, 1 to 2 hours, should be devoted to the political work of the club. This can be handled in a great variety of ways. Meetings of higher bodies should regularly be reported to the club. These meetings are best reported in the context of the club ap-

plication of the decisions, projecting some concrete club applications relating to the club's strategic line and plan of work.

It may be that the club is to hear a report on club peace work and there has been a district or Central Committee discussion of this. In this case a separate report on the meetings of the higher body would not be given, but it would be worked in as the framework for the club report on peace work.

A report with concrete proposals on club activity in a given field of struggle will often be presented to give a longer term perspective in that field of struggle. The relationship of the particular field of struggle to the strategic line and plan of work should be indicated so that it is not seen as a diversion or something apart from it.

Sometimes, instead of a comrade being asked to report on the long term perspectives in his or her area of work, several comrades at one meeting will present an immediate tactical problem that has arisen in their mass activity to get the thinking and help of the collective. A report may be given on press work, literature, fund raising, recruiting, on a political basis. Its starting point would be a review of past work, a setting forth of the particular area in relation to the mass strategic line and tasks and the plan of work, with the projection of goals and methods, ideological, political and organizational problems, etc.

Larger clubs may wish to divide the club into two or more parts, for part of every meeting or every other meeting, for some or all of the discussion of the political work. The division may be on the basis of several comrades in one shop or closely related shops, in one narrower neighborhood, or one mass organization, where there would be both discussions of longer term perspectives and of immediate tactical problems. Such division assures more detailed help more frequently to the greatest number of club members in a large club, and prepares the ground for transition to new shop or neighborhood clubs.

The aim is to help every comrade, not only in his or her general outlook, but in his or her specific area of work, at every meeting, or at least every other meeting, or through supplemental help from the club executive committee.

Organizational questions should consume the least amount of time, no more than 30 minutes when they are checkup points, making of arrangements, collection of dues, assessments or fund drive pledges, sale of literature, etc. As indicated, these same points may also at times be one of the major points on the agenda, in which they become a political-organizational report for discussion and action, and not just a checkup

point.

Many good clubs do not put dues and fund collections and literature sales on the agenda at every meeting. The person in charge arrives early and leaves late, takes up the matter with each person individually before and after the meeting, placing the point on the club agenda only when it is for a major political discussion.

A good agenda will consist of the educational, one or two major discussions of political work, and brief organizational checkup points of 10 to 30 minutes total duration. Any matters that cannot be handled in this framework should be handled by the club executive committee, individual officers or committees between meetings.

6. Election of Leadership

The outgoing leadership should make recommendations on the structure of leadership and on the personnel. Consideration should be given not only to what particular functions of leadership are required and who can best perform the particular functions, but also to the overall roundedness and composition of the executive committee as the leading political collective of the club. Annual elections are constitutionally required, as is a secret ballot should anyone request it. Other aspects of election procedure are best decided according to club circumstances.

7. The Executive Committee

The executive committee is not a separate Party body or organization, but rather is a committee of the club, elected to provide leadership to the work of the club. It prepares the agenda for club meetings and assures that the decisions of the club are executed. It should prepare thinking for the club on all major political questions and problems of the club's work. All major questions should then come before the full club meeting.

The executive committee should be able to take up and act on questions that cannot come before the club either because they are of lesser importance and there is no room for them on the club agenda, or because they are so urgent they cannot await the regular meeting and an emergency club meeting is not appropriate. All actions of the executive committee are subject to approval or reversal by the full club. The work of the executive committee should be reviewed at least once a year at the club conference, when the new executive committee is elected.

The executive committee, because of the political development of its individual members, their involvement, role and composition, taken as a

collective, should be the group most capable of giving leadership to the work of the club. It should meet regularly once between club meetings and on call.

To assure that the club meeting has preparation and direction and therefore is not just a discussion society, and that club work is carried on between meetings, it is necessary for every club of 5 or more members to have an executive committee. The minimum size is 3, and in large clubs of 25 or more members the executive committee may be as large as 7 or so. The club chairperson should be a member of the executive committee. If the club has an organizational secretary and/or an educational director, they should also be on the executive committee.

Every member of the executive committee may have a specific function, such as membership secretary, financial secretary, press director, literature director, or committee member in charge of peace work or some other mass field. Some may be members without such specific assignments, being on the committee because of their level of development and/or mass ties.

Not every person with such specific club responsibility need be on the executive committee. Its size and composition should be considered in relation to the size and other needs of the club. When the executive committee is discussing a particular area of work the person responsible should be invited to participate. The executive committee may also invite to its meeting several comrades in a particular area of mass struggle in order to give them more detailed help than they can get at the club meeting.

If the club is too small for an executive committee, having only 3 or 4 members, it still must have a club organizer, the chairperson and at least one other person with a specific club function. The danger of directionless or planless meetings is even greater with small clubs, so that it is most important that the club chairperson have some exchange with the other club functionary in advance about the agenda of the meetings.

8. Officers

The number of officers and their particular functions and titles will vary with the club situation.

There should be assignment of the following kinds of work to particular people: calling the meetings and informing absent members of time and place, recruiting new members and looking after the good and welfare of the existing membership, collection of dues, southern solidarity, convention assessments, fund drive pledges, other fund raising, keeping of financial records and control of disbursements, educational work, press work and literature. In a larger club each of these functions may be

handled by a separate person. In a smaller club there are several possible combinations, though someone should have responsibility for each. An organizational secretary may be responsible for calling meetings, recruiting and the fight for membership; collection of dues and other money, other fund raising and control; or this may be assigned to two people, one of them a financial secretary. There may be only one person for both press and literature, or the educational director may also handle literature, or some other combination. As the club grows, each function should be held by a separate person. The three foremost officers that should first be assigned for a club are the chairperson, organizational secretary and educational director.

a. Chairperson.

Every Party body, including the club, must have a political leader, the club organizer, usually called the club chairperson. The chairperson will be concerned with overall political direction and policy development and, in conjunction with the officers directly responsible for ideological and organizational work, with major problems in these areas. The chairperson chairs the executive committee and may or may not chair the club meetings. Between club and executive committee meetings the chairperson can act when necessary in behalf of the club or executive committee, subject to their approval. The chairperson may or may not be the club representative on higher bodies, according to his or her available time and the club's needs. If at all possible, the club chairperson should meet regularly with at least one leading body in order to assure his or her further development and the best presentation of the work and thinking of the club.

In a small club, a club with a small number of officers or a club without an organizational secretary, the chairperson undoubtedly will have some specific assignments for club organizational functioning.

b. Organizational Secretary.

In a small club with a three-person executive committee, the second officer should be the organizational secretary. In this situation the organizational secretary should assure full attendance at meetings, be responsible for club finances, recruiting, and probably press work. If a non-executive committee member handles any of these responsibilities the organizational secretary should check on and give aid in its handling. Some of these functions might be shared with the club chairperson.

In a large club with separate people for each of the functions, the organizational secretary should coordinate, aid and supervise the work in

all these areas and should play a considerable role along with the chairperson in seeing that the mass political line of the club is carried out, working closely with comrades in some of the key mass fields.

c. Educational Director.

The educational director is responsible for organizing all the educational work of the club—club meeting educationals, forums, study groups, new members' classes, participation by club members in classes and schools organized by leading committees, etc. In a very small club the educational director may also be responsible for literature and/or even press work.

As already indicated under *The Club Plan of Work* (Section 4), the total educational program of the club should be developed from the standpoint of what educational activities can best help the club overcome its main problems and take its work forward. In its mass activities, the club will meet ideological questions influencing masses and the more advanced and left sectors that hinder development. Use of the press, books, pamphlets, specially prepared leaflets, forums and symposia aimed at these particular ideological questions is then part of the mass educational work of the club. Assuring that our own membership has clarity on these same questions, through club meeting educationals, special club classes, or attendance at classes and schools organized by leading bodies, is another vital part of educational work.

The possible forms and content for the regular club meeting educational were discussed under *The Club Meeting* (Section 5). Inner club education must aim to equip the membership to deal with ideological and theoretical questions they will confront in the mass movements and to help overcome internal weaknesses holding back the club's work. It must also seek to give the club membership an ongoing sound assessment of the major political developments internationally, nationally and in the district, and our line toward them.

General mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory as part of the continual raising of the level of understanding of the membership is also an aim of educational work. This can best be handled in special club classes or in classes and schools organized by leading bodies rather than in the 30 to 60 minute educationals at club meetings every two weeks.

Such forms as club leadership training classes are also best organized by leading bodies involving more than a single club. The club educational director would help guarantee that there are such classes, and that the club is able to participate in as many as possible of the educational forms organized by leading committees.

Organization of a Marxist discussion group of those close to the Party on the basic theory or on the Marxist approach to a particular field of struggle close to the participants is an important educational form that can help recruit. Classes on the strategy and tactics of the Party, on the theory of the Party and how it functions are necessary for all new members. If the club is unable to organize them, then a leading committee should be asked to provide them.

d. Press Director.

The press director is to lead and organize the club's activities in extending the circulation of the *Daily World*, or the *People's World* (on the West Coast). This should begin with assuring that every club member gets and reads the paper every day of issue in accordance with the requirement of the Constitution. It will include all the individual and group activities to build circulation, and the building by the club, or together with other clubs, of a press builders organization of Party and non-Party readers. The press director may also have responsibility for the organization of fund raising activities for the press. This aspect, however, may be part of the job of the comrade responsible for finances generally.

e. Membership Secretary.

The membership secretary leads and organizes the recruiting work. The annual Party registration of all its members should be handled by such a person as well as keeping in touch with members who miss meetings, are ill, etc. The membership secretary fights for the membership, for their fullest involvement and development, and for more members.

f. Literature Director.

The literature director is responsible for leading and organizing the work of the club in extending the sale and distribution of the literature the Party is promoting, to the club membership and to the widest masses possible in the area of club responsibility. The literature includes *Political Affairs, Party Affairs,* and other periodicals; and pamphlets and books published by our Party, fraternal parties, Marxist-Leninist publishing houses and other progressive sources, which the Party wishes to promote. There should be an adequate supply and variety of literature at every club meeting. Every member should receive *Political Affairs, Party Affairs,* and copies of the reports to the Central Committee and all other official Party documents. The literature director should present to the club a rounded

plan of distribution for a book or pamphlet around which there is a campaign of mass distribution.

g. Financial Secretary and/or Treasurer.

The financial secretary leads and organizes the financial work of the club. This should include preparation of an annual budget of needed funds and of sources of income to be adopted at the club conference. It should also include the club's obligations to the district and Central Committee and to the press and for its own work.

The financial secretary collects dues, southern solidarity and convention assessments, sustainer and fund drive pledges from members, fights for the complete fulfillment of pledges, keeps the records and controls disbursements. A plan of fund raising affairs, alone or together with other clubs, and appeals to individual non-Party contacts for contributions of funds should be developed and implemented.

IX. NATIONAL CONVENTION

The National Convention is the highest authority of the Communist Party. It represents the most widely participated in and thoroughly prepared expression of the will of the entire Party membership on the most basic questions before our class, people and country and, therefore, before our Party. The Convention's role in the system of Party organization is as follows:

1. It establishes the general line and main policies of the Party for the period until the next Convention.
2. It reviews the policies and activities of the Party and the work of the Central Committee since the prior Convention.
3. It elects the Central Committee which is to lead the Party until the next Convention.
4. It makes any amendments necessary to the Party Program and Constitution.
5. It makes the final decision on any appeals from decisions of the Central Committee brought before it.
6. It sets dues and assessment rates.

Delegates to the National Convention are elected at district conventions by democratic procedure and secret ballot in approximate proportion to membership. The Central Committee establishes the total size of the Convention and the formula for election as Convention delegates. Membership in the Party for one year prior to the Convention is required to be eligible as a delegate. Class and social composition as well as

political development, activity and capability are taken into account in election of delegates.

The Convention is preceded by a four-month pre-Convention discussion period. The main draft political documents to be considered by the Convention are made available by the Central Committee to the entire membership at the beginning of the period. All Party organizations and commissions discuss the draft national documents and any district or local draft documents, the past work of the Party and leadership at all levels, and future policy, activity and leadership of the Party—all from the standpoint of how to strengthen the Party and its contributions and leadership in the struggle of our class and people for social progress. The widest possible discussion is encouraged. Any Party organization or commission has a right to propose amendments to the draft documents, the Program and Constitution and to adopt resolutions on all questions of policy and the work and composition of leading committees for consideration by the Convention. At the same time, all Party policies remain binding during the pre-Convention discussion period and until superseded by new Convention decisions.

Decisions of the Convention are binding on all Party organizations, leaders and members.

Regular National Conventions are held every four years. There are Constitutional provisions to provide for a special convention or to extend the time between conventions due to extraordinary circumstances.

X. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central Committee is the leading body of the Communist Party between Conventions, representing the whole Party. It is responsible to the Party and its National Convention for the making and development of policy. It is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution, the execution of all Convention decisions and for execution of its own decisions. Its decisions are binding on all Party organizations, leaders and members.

The Central Committee is responsible for the selection of all national personnel, either directly or through its standing committees. It is also responsible for the financial administration of the Party between Conventions and it hears appeals from decisions of district committees that are brought before it.

In making and developing policy with respect to the many new developments occurring between Conventions, and on more specific questions than the Convention could consider, the Central Committee is guided

and bound by the Program of the Party and all other policy decisions of the Convention. The Constitution provides special means for major policy changes. These require either that the Central Committee consult the district committees or entire membership before making such a change and provide a Party-wide discussion period, or in the case of emergency found to exist by two-thirds of the Committee, it may establish another method. Of course, any major change in policy by the Central Committee is subject to review by the next Convention.

Any request for a review of a policy or for adoption of a new major policy must be made known to the Central Committee, and when requested by one-third of the membership of the Committee it must be discussed by the Committee. Summaries and reports of Central Committee meetings are to be made available to the membership.

In order to carry out these responsibilities the Central Committee elects a Political Bureau, general officers of the Party, an Organization Bureau and whatever commissions it deems necessary.

The Central Committee is elected in a democratic manner by secret ballot by the National Convention delegates in a way that they determine. To be eligible for election to the Central Committee, a member must have been in good standing for at least three years preceding the election. Central Committee members may be released or removed by a two-thirds vote of the Central Committee.

The size of the Central Committee is determined by the Convention. It is required to meet at least twice a year in plenary session. Sometimes it meets as often as four times a year. Between plenums the Central Committee is consulted by its standing committee, the Political Bureau, through various means and members participate in its work through commissions and other means.

The national organization, through its Central Committee, adopts and works according to a national plan of work covering the period between conventions. In addition, there is a yearly plan and there may be plans for specific fields of work.

XI. NATIONAL COUNCIL

The 20th Convention (1972) established, and the 21st Convention (1975) continued, a National Council. Its purpose is to assist the Central Committee in probing questions of policy and the experience of policy implementation. It also helps in the mobilization of the whole Party for application of the policies of the Party. In addition, it helps develop its

younger and newer members as leading cadre. It likewise provides a means by which older comrades who do not function in major operative positions can contribute to the Party's policy and fight for implementation and standards based on their knowledge, experience and proven steadfastness.

The National Council is substantially larger than the Central Committee, with most of the members of the Central Committee also being members of the Council. Its functions are performed through an annual meeting, mail consultation on major questions, in field trip consultations by Central Committee officers and staff members and by other means. It is viewed as a temporary formation subordinate to the National Convention and Central Committee. It is elected by each National Convention by rules determined at the Convention. As with the Central Committee, in its election, there is an effort to assure its composition in the first place from among industrial workers, nationally oppressed peoples, women and youth.

XII. POLITICAL BUREAU

The Political Bureau is the standing committee of the Central Committee carrying out its work on a daily basis between plenary sessions of the Central Committee. As such, it is the daily policy-making body of the Central Committee, developing policy within the framework of the Program of the Party, Convention decisions and decisions of plenary meetings of the Central Committee. The Political Bureau discusses developments and reaches policy conclusions. It also prepares the agenda and major policy discussions which are placed before the Central Committee in plenary session for decision.

The Political Bureau also has ultimate responsibility to Central Committee plenums for the entire work of the Party between the plenums. Mobilization of the whole Party and execution of decisions, however, is organized directly by the second standing committee of the Central Committee, the Organization Bureau. Major personnel questions are also decided by the Political Bureau or in the most important cases recommended by it to a plenum of the Central Committee.

The Political Bureau helps assure that the most important questions of Party policy and functioning come before plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Decisions of the Political Bureau are subject to any further action a Central Committee plenary session may wish to take.

The Political Bureau is elected by the Central Committee from among

its own members. Political Bureau members may be released or removed by majority vote of the Central Committee.

XIII. ORGANIZATION BUREAU AND DEPARTMENT

The Organization Bureau and Department have the daily responsibility for the implementation of the policy decisions of the National Convention and the Central Committee and its Political Bureau. This starts with political mobilization of the membership and of all Party organizations and bodies for the mass tasks of the Party and for its building.

The Organization Bureau and Department coordinate the daily work of the Central Committee commissions, departments and full-time staff in implementing these policy decisions. In addition, they have a number of direct responsibilities for implementation. These include the fight: (1) to implement industrial concentration in close cooperation with the Labor Commission and Department; (2) for daily check-up and control; (3) to strengthen the clubs and districts; (4) to recruit; (5) to build the circulation and finances of the Party press and literature; (6) for membership work; (7) for the finances of the Party; (8) for editing and publishing *Party Affairs;* (9) for management of the Central Committee office.

The Organization Bureau is also the leading collective of the Organization Department. The Bureau consists of leading comrades from the key departments of the Central Committee, as well as functionaries of the Organization Department itself. It also has on it some district organizational secretaries. The Organization Bureau and Department are headed by the National Organization Secretary.

The Organization Bureau is the second standing committee of the Central Committee. As such it is subordinate to the Political Bureau as well as to the Central Committee as a whole. It is elected by the Central Committee on recommendation of the Political Bureau.

XIV. REVIEW COMMISSION

This commission reviews the work of the Party, including the Central Committee. Its reviews are made from the standpoint of how the decisions of the Convention are being carried out. It also reviews how the fight for higher Communist standards is being conducted in all Party bodies and institutions. It draws conclusions as to strengths and weaknesses

in these regards and makes recommendations for strengthening to the Convention, Central Committee, Political Bureau and other appropriate bodies.

It may study and investigate particular situations, and recommend establishment of a trial committee to hear disciplinary charges. It is also concerned with organizing protection of the Party from extra-legal attempts to weaken and destroy it.

In different periods, the method of electing its membership has varied. Usually the Review Commission is elected by the National Convention, establishing its independent ability to review the work of all other bodies. The current commission was elected by the Central Committee.

XV. COMMISSIONS AND DEPARTMENTS

National commissions of the Party are established by the Central Committee as it finds them useful to assist in carrying out the responsibilities of the Central Committee in specific fields. Commissions prepare policy discussions for plenary meetings of the Central Committee or for the Political Bureau. They also follow up on discussions in the Central Committee or Political Bureau of their fields of responsibility, or of application of such discussions to their fields with further elaboration of tactics and plans of implementation.

The commissions are responsible to the Central Committee and its Political Bureau and the Organization Bureau and Department for helping to implement national decisions in their own fields of responsibility. In order to make the decisions in their fields the property of the whole Party, commissions work with and through the Organization Bureau and Department to reach the districts and Party membership.

National commissions are composed of leading full-time Party functionaries and of those working on the job who are active in a particular field of responsibility. They are also composed of leading comrades from related fields and those best able to help make the particular field the concern of the whole Party. A commission is not a caucus of people active in a given field and concerned only with their own activity in that field. Nor does a commission have the authority or responsibility for the work of comrades throughout the country in that field of work. Rather, each comrade's club, section, district, and the national organization have such responsibility, with the work of the commissions assisting the national organization and, through its Organization Department, the districts, sections and clubs in fulfilling the responsibility.

All commissions are concerned with how to relate the major social issues such as peace, racism, independent political action and the special needs of women and youth to their own fields, as well as the building of the Party and the youth league, press and literature—and all on an industrial concentration basis. While the commissions the Party functions with and their size and composition vary to some extent with objective conditions, availability of personnel, etc., the following commissions usually function at the national level. (At the district level, usually only some of the first-listed commissions exist, even in the biggest districts.)

1. Peace Commission

This Commission is concerned with the general fight for peaceful coexistence and disarmament, making detente irreversible and with developing solidarity for peoples at all the specific hot spots in the world in the struggle against imperialism in general and U.S. imperialism in particular.

2. Labor Commission

This Commission is concerned with the problems workers and their unions face at the point of production, with unemployment, organization of the unorganized, and trade union development, rank and file movements among workers in the shops and unions, related legislation and how such general social issues as peace, racism and independent political action are expressed in the shops, unions and rank and file movements. Its foremost concentration is in basic industries such as steel, especially among the less skilled production workers and specially oppressed workers. It brings to the attention of the whole Party specific shop, contract and related legislative and trade union issues of concern to the struggle of the whole working class. A number of sub-commissions for particular industries exist.

3. Black Liberation Commission

This Commission is concerned with the struggle against all forms of the practice of special oppression and racist ideology directed against Black people. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological currents among Black people, the question of winning white masses, workers in the first place, as well as other specially oppressed peoples as allies in the struggle against anti-Black racism and in support of the special needs of Black people.

4. Education Commission

This Commission is responsible for the education of the Party's member-

ship and leadership through national and regional training schools, seminars and institutes, promotion and assistance to district training schools, seminars and public Marxist centers, inner club education and study circles.

5. Additional Propaganda and Agitational Tasks

Sometimes additional responsibilities including some or all of the following are assigned to the Education Commission. At other times they have been assigned to a special propaganda and agitation commission. These additional tasks include presenting the views of the Party as widely as possible among the masses through production and distribution of pamphlets, leaflets, films, video and audio tapes, as well as through mass media exposure and public speaking engagements. Assistance in strengthening and coordination of the content and work of the Party's press, mass periodicals and book publishing efforts is another such area.

6. Electoral and Legislative Commission

This Commission is concerned with the Party's participation in national elections, and with assisting and guiding district participation in Congressional, state and local elections. From time to time campaign committees of Party and non-Party forces may be established for the immediate conduct of an election campaign. This Commission also follows national legislative developments, alerts the Party leadership and works with the relevant commissions and Party organizations in developing campaigns around legislative issues.

7. International Affairs Department

This Department is concerned with strengthening the relationship between our Party and the fraternal Communist and workers parties. It is also concerned with strengthening the ties of people in the U.S. with various democratic, international organizations and movements, as well as other people-to-people contacts in the interests of the struggle for peace and against imperialism.

8. Chicano Liberation Commission

This Commission is concerned with the struggle against all forms of the practice of special oppression and racist ideology directed against Chicanos. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological currents among the Chicano people, the question of winning Anglo masses, workers in the first place, as well as other specially oppressed peoples, especially Black people, as allies in the struggle against anti-Chicano racism

and in support of the special needs of the Chicano people.

9. Puerto Rican Liberation Commission

This Commission is concerned with the struggle against all forms of the practice of special oppression and racist ideology directed against Puerto Ricans. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological currents among the Puerto Rican people, the question of winning non Puerto Rican masses, workers in the first place, as well as other specially oppressed peoples, especially Black people, as allies in the struggle against anti-Puerto Rican racism and in support of the special needs of the Puerto Rican people. While the Peace Commission has the main responsibility, this Commission is also concerned with winning the widest support in the United States for the independence of Puerto Rico.

10. Native American Indian Liberation Commission

This Commission is concerned with the struggle against all forms of the practice of special oppression and racist ideology directed against Native American Indian peoples. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological currents among Native American Indian peoples, the question of winning white masses, workers in the first place, as well as other specially oppressed peoples, especially Black people, as allies in the struggle against anti-Indian racism and in support of the special needs of the Native American Indian peoples.

11. Asian-American Peoples Commission

This Commission is concerned with the struggle against all forms of the practice of special oppression and racist ideology directed against Asian-American peoples. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological currents among Asian-American peoples, the question of winning white masses, workers in the first place, as well as other specially oppressed peoples, especially Black people, as allies in the struggle against anti-Asian-American racism and in support of the special needs of the Asian-American peoples.

12. Jewish Commission

This Commission is concerned with all expressions in practice and ideology of anti-Semitism. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological currents among the Jewish people, including reactionary bourgeois nationalist currents such as Zionism. It is concerned with the struggle for a correct approach of Jewish masses toward the policies of the govern-

ment of Israel and its role in the Middle East, as well as toward the position of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This Commission is also concerned with the development of relations of solidarity of the Jewish people with the specially oppressed peoples, the Black people especially, as well as the question of winning the support of non-Jewish masses, workers in the first place, and the specially oppressed peoples, as allies in the fight against anti-Semitism.

13. National Groups Commission

This Commission is concerned with the movements, organizations, ideological trends and special problems that express themselves in a nationality form among all other nationality groups, such as Italian, Polish, Irish, Greek, German, Russian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Slovak. It is particularly concerned with building relations of solidarity between these nationality groups and Black people and the other specially oppressed peoples on the basis of combatting racist ideology and practice.

14. Commission on Women's Equality

This Commission is concerned with the struggle against all forms of the practice of special oppression and male supremacist ideology directed against women, particularly working-class women and all women from among the specially oppressed peoples. It is also concerned with the women's movements, organizations and specific ideological currents, as well as the question of winning men, workers in the first place, to oppose male supremacy and in support of the special needs of women.

15. Commission on Problems of the Young Generation

This Commission is concerned with the mobilization of the whole Party for struggle for the special needs of the young generation. It is also concerned with the assistance of the whole Party to building the youth league and of strengthening the Party's fraternal bonds with the League. In addition, it is concerned with the activity of older comrades among youth, and of Party youth in the League. It serves as a means of Party political guidance to leading comrades in League work, while taking care not to act as a super-executive committee of the League nor to weaken its organizational independence and democratic inner life.

16. Defense Commission

This Commission is concerned with the mass political and legal defense of the democratic rights of the Communist Party and of all progressive and

democratic forces, particularly of the working class and specially oppressed peoples, against attack by the repressive organs of the state. It is also concerned with legislation in this field, and with the special oppression of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American Indian and Asian-American peoples by the penal and judical systems.

17. Health Commission

This Commission is concerned with the program and the fight to meet the health needs of the people, especially the working class and the Black and other specially oppressed peoples. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological trends on questions of health care among professional and other health workers. The Labor Commission is responsible for work among health workers with respect to their wages, working conditions, job security and trade union organization.

18. Cultural Affairs Commission

This Commission is concerned with the struggle to make available progressive culture to the massses of people, especially to the working class and the Black and other specially oppressed peoples. It is concerned with the struggle against reactionary trends in culture. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological trends among cultural workers.

19. Rural and Farm Commission

This Commission is concerned with the special needs of farm laborers and small family farmers in their struggle against agribusiness and other monopolies. It is also concerned with the movements, organizations and ideological trends among farmers.

20. Economic and Research Commission

This Commission studies developments in the economy and in social conditions and makes recommendations on programmatic demands and policy of struggle to the appropriate Party bodies. It also assists the districts in similar research.

21. Party History Commission

This Commission studies the history of the CPUSA, with the view of drawing lessons for today and educating the Party membership and non-Party masses as widely as possible about the historic role of the Party and the lessons to be drawn from its activity. It prepares the dissemination of its work in print as well as orally and by visual means.

XVI. DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

The national organization of the Communist Party is divided into district organizations. The Central Committee or one of its standing committees designates where district organizations are to exist. A district organization embraces all Party members, clubs, sections, city and county organizations, commissions and committees within its territorial limits. A district organization may cover one state, more than one state or a part of a state. Usually it covers one state.

The highest authority of the district organization is the district convention. It represents the most widely participated in and thoroughly prepared expression of the will of the entire district organization and its membership on questions of district-wide concern. It establishes the line of policy of the Party in the district for the period until the next convention. It does this by applying and implementing national policies and decisions as established by the Party Program, National Convention, and by the Central Committee and its standing committees. It also does this by developing policy on district developments within the framework of the policies of the national organization. It reviews the policies and activities of the district organization and the work of the district committee since the previous district convention. It elects the district committee which is to lead the district organization until the next convention. It hears and decides any appeals brought to it from decisions of the district committee.

It hears and acts on the financial report of the district committee. During the national pre-convention discussion period it may express its views on all matters before the National Convention. At other times, it may express its views to the national organization on any questions that have not yet been decided, and may ask for a review of questions that have been decided or appeal a decision to a higher body. The district convention also elects delegates to the National Convention.

The district convention convenes at least once every four years during the national pre-convention discussion period. Delegates to the district convention are elected, either by each club or by conventions of larger subdivisions of the district organization (section, regional, city or county conventions), in such numbers as the district committee determines, provided that the number of delegates elected by each club or larger subdivision is in proportion to its membership. To be eligible for election, a member shall have been in good standing for at least six months.

The district committee is the leading body of the district Party organization between conventions, representing the whole Party in the district. It

is responsible to the district Party and its convention for the making and development of district policy within the framework of national policies and those of the district convention. It is responsible to the district convention, to the Central Committee and its standing committees and to the National Convention for the application of national policy to the district situation. The district committee is responsible for the execution of its own decisions and those of higher bodies.

The district committee is responsible for the selection of all district personnel, either directly or through its standing committees. It is also responsible for the financial administration of the district Party organization between district conventions and it hears appeals from decisions of the lower Party organizations in the district. The district committee or one of its standing committees determines when and where section, county and city committees are necessary, and approves the formation of new clubs of the Party within the district.

In order to carry out these responsibilities on a daily basis between its meetings, the district committee elects a standing committee, called the district board, that acts in its behalf, and whatever other committees and commissions it feels are necessary.

The district committee also elects from among its members any officers it finds necessary who are also members of the district board.

The district committee is elected in a democratic manner by secret ballot by the district convention delegates in a way that they determine. To be eligible for election to the district committee, a member must have been in good standing for at least one year preceding the date of the election. Members and officers of the district committee may be released or removed by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the district committee. A vacancy on the district committee may be filled by secret ballot and majority vote of the members of the district committee.

The district committee meets at least four times a year. When one-third of the members of the district committee, or one-third of the clubs, request review of a policy or adoption of a new policy, the district committee is required to hold such a discussion. Decisions of the district committee are binding on all members of the district organization and on all clubs and other bodies subordinate to the district committee. Such decisions may be reversed only by higher bodies of the Party. Committees and officers are required to report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them and to bodies to which they are responsible. Decisions of the district committee are required to be made available regularly to the membership in a way that the district committee shall determine.

Larger district organizations usually have a collective body responsible for daily coordination and implementation of decisions, and for Party organization, called an organization bureau, commission or department, which may be viewed as a second standing committee of the district committee, subordinate to the district board. In addition, district commissions may be established as appropriate in major fields such as peace, labor, Black liberation, education. Their role and function parallels, on the district level, that of national commissions.

Normally even the largest districts will have only a few of the commissions that exist nationally since not all the fields of work have local application and cadre are more limited. Smaller districts usually have only a few major commissions and may not have any, reflecting the fact that their growth and organizational and cadre status do not yet warrant a further division of labor in the form of commissions. In establishing commissions and their size, the impact on club life and cadre for the vertical structure must be considered.

Each district is expected to adopt and work by an overall plan of work for the interval between conventions and on a yearly basis. There may also be specific plans of work for particular fields of work.

XVII. SECTIONS, REGIONS, CITY AND COUNTY COMMITTEES

Depending on the size of the Party organization, a district may contain one or more sections, regions, city and/or county committees.

A section may be composed of anywhere from three to ten clubs, more often five to seven clubs, located in a relatively compact area, usually in a single city. A section may be formed consisting of a shop or industrial club and a couple of neighborhood clubs to strengthen concentration at a specific shop. A section committee may be elected by a delegated section convention held during the national pre-convention discussion period, and perhaps also by a section convention held between national conventions. Or, especially in smaller section organizations, the section committee may be composed of one person elected from each club, and a section organizer or chairperson elected by the other members of the section committee or by a higher body in consultation with the section. In the latter situation, usually there is no section executive committee nor are there additional functionary responsibilities at the section level such as for organization, education, etc., beyond that of section organizer. Assistance and leadership to clubs in these areas is handled by functionaries in these fields

at higher levels of the Party structure. The purpose of the section committee in these circumstances is to assist the clubs in their work, especially through exchange of experiences, to assist higher bodies of the Party in giving political leadership to the clubs, especially where the section covers an area with common and distinct political, economic and/or social features, and to assist higher bodies in carrying out their organizational responsibilities in relation to the clubs.

Where a section is larger, has the necessary cadre and embraces an area with distinct common features, the tendency is for a delegated section convention to elect a section committee. It may then elect an executive committee, a section organizer and other section functionaries, as circumstances warrant. The section committee then takes much fuller political and organizational responsibility for the work of the Party organization and all of its clubs in the section. Usually such sections exist in a more extensive district, and section conventions elect delegates to district conventions either in addition to or instead of club election of delegates.

Sometimes, when two or more sections exist in a relatively compact area such as a city, they may be combined in a region. In an area where there are from two to ten clubs that are geographically far flung they may be combined in a region with the aim of building sections within the region as clusters of clubs are built. The role and structure of regions vary in much the same way as sections, depending on the size and level of development of the Party organization both within the region and in the district. Election of the regional committee has variations in relation to the clubs and sections and higher bodies, similar to those with respect to sections. The role of regions in electing delegates to district conventions also has variations similar to those with respect to sections.

A city committee is usually established when there are two or more clubs existing in a city. The size of the organization it leads may be no larger than a section elsewhere, three to ten clubs, or it may embrace more than one section. It may be the same in structure as a regional committee or it may include more than one region. Its purpose, however, is to give political leadership to the Party organization within the city based on the national and district policies and decisions and it will usually have organizational responsibility for all Party members and organizations within the city. Whether it has an executive committee, departments and commissions varies according to circumstances, including the size of the organization in the city, availability of cadre and the size and extent of structure and personnel of the district organiza-

tion. Usually a city committee is elected at a city convention during the national pre-convention discussion period, and there may also be such an election at a city convention held between national conventions. Delegates to city conventions may be elected either by clubs or by sections or regions, or by a combination of these, depending on the size of the organization. City conventions elect delegates to district conventions, especially if the district is of such size that comparable section, region and/or county conventions also elect delegates, rather than direct election of district convention delegates by the clubs. In some circumstances district convention delegates may be elected both directly by club conferences and by section, region, city and/or county conventions, so long as the constitutional provision regarding the proportion of delegates to membership is observed.

County committees are infrequently established. Usually this is done when a county is an important electoral-political, social and economic entity and embraces two adjacent cities or a city and its suburbs that are really just a continuation of the city, or where a county is an important subdivision of a city. Here too the county committee may embrace two or more clubs, be the same in size and structure as a section or region, or embrace more than one section or region. Its purpose is to give political leadership to the Party organization within the county on the basis of the policies and decisions of the national and district organizations. Usually it will have organizational responsibility for all members and Party organizations within the county. Whether it has an executive committee, departments and commissions depends on circumstances, including the size of the organization within the county, availability of cadre and the size and extent of structure and personnel of the district organization. The county committee is elected at a county convention during the national pre-convention discussion period, and there may also be such an election at a county convention held between national conventions. Delegates to county conventions may be elected either by clubs or by sections or regions, or by a combination of these depending on the size of the organization. County conventions may elect delegates to district conventions, especially if the district is of such size that comparable sections, regions and/or city conventions also elect delegates, rather than direct election of district convention delegates by the clubs. In some circumstances, district convention delegates may be elected both directly by club conferences and by section, region, city and/or county conventions, so long as the constitutional provision which states "in proportion to membership" is observed.

The objective is to minimize intermediate levels of organization and their personnel requirements, in order to assure strong national and district leadership, and strong club leadership and immediate assistance to clubs.

XVIII. RECRUITING

In all its activities the Party constantly tries to expand its membership, to recruit. While it is interested in expanding its membership among all categories of working people, its foremost stress is on recruiting workers, especially those in basic industries. It also makes special efforts to recruit workers and other working people from among Black people and other specially oppressed peoples—Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indians and Asian-Americans. It is also specially concerned with its composition with regard to women and age level.

The general standards for a new member are discussed in the section on membership. At different times the Party applies these standards in different ways, reflecting the situation in the country and the way people come to the Party, and the situation in the Party—its composition, etc. It seeks the most advanced workers and other working people as demonstrated primarily by their role in progressive social struggle.

Mastery of Marxism-Leninism or of any particular phase of it prior to entrance is not a condition for recruitment. The desire of the recruit to support the Program, even if without a deep understanding, and to act in accord with the Constitution, meets the constitutional requirement of "acceptance" of the Program and Constitution.

Usually new members bring with them close ties to those movements and struggles currently in the forefront. They bring a sensitivity to the problems and aspirations of those involved in such struggles. They also bring new skills developed in those movements. Therefore, besides everything else, new members are important to the Party because they help root the Party even more firmly among working people in motion.

Growth of the Party is not only in the interest of the Party. It assures a steady increase in the number of staunch, selfless fighters in every progressive movement and struggle for a better life for the working masses. It helps assure the constant expansion and further development of such struggles so that they are not derailed, sidetracked or crushed. Without steady expansion of the Party's membership not only is it impossible to expand the Party's direct work, but expansion of progressive social struggles in general will be greatly retarded and per-

haps even blocked entirely.

For the Party to grow it must constantly strengthen its ties with the people, workers especially, and demonstrate in life its role in fighting for their daily needs and indicating the way ahead, including the socialist alternative. Involvement and initiative in these struggles, therefore, is the starting point of growth. That involvement must demonstrate a special Communist contribution that arises from the class nature and role of the Party and its science of society, Marxism-Leninism. As a result, not only must Communists be present and make a special contribution, but a growing number of others must know of their presence. In this sense, all the mass propaganda and agitation of the Party not only influences others on daily issues and contributes to the fight for democracy by refuting the anti-Communist Big Lie. It also prepares the more militant and radical to seriously consider Party membership. It includes the press, periodicals, books, pamphlets, leaflets, films, tapes, and radio and TV appearances. Every Communist should be known as a Party member to at least a few co-workers, neighbors, etc., and should constantly seek to expand this circle.

Wherever there are a number of people and there is concrete work it is possible to recruit. Some situations, however, are quite easy for recruiting success while others require careful work over a prolonged period of time.

Recruiting requires Party consciousness and specific recruiting consciousness. It requires a confidence that workers are ready to be won to the Party and that the Party can attract and hold them. Although recruiting is an activity requiring special attention, it is most successful when fully integrated into the total work of the Party, particularly its activity among masses struggling for their needs. But it also requires a high level of organization. From time to time, in addition to the day to day effort to recruit, the Party launches a well prepared and planned recruiting drive. This includes goals, printed materials, activities and checkup planned over a period of time at all levels of the Party.

Typically, during such a period, every public event of the Party will make an appeal for members and every inner meeting will reflect this effort. Special meetings and classes or study groups of potential recruits are organized. Open club meetings are held to which potential members are invited. Other political, educational, cultural and social events are organized with such people in attendance. At every level, starting with the club, lists of potential recruits are made and assignments given, and methods and problems of recruiting particular people are discussed. Then

there is regular checkup on all levels of progress during the drive.

During a drive, recruiting is connected to every aspect of Party activity, pervading its meetings and publications. A system of new members classes is established to help consolidate new members by grounding them in the theory, policy, style of work and organization of the Communist Party.

XIX. PRESS AND LITERATURE BUILDING

The most important instrument that exists to reach non-Party masses consistently, influence their thinking, help bring them into organized struggle and closer to the Party and Party membership is the *Daily World.* On the West Coast, it is the *People's World.* In addition, these are major means of educating our own ranks on the meaning of daily events and on questions of a more theoretical character as well as an aid in organizing our mass work. Because of this, the Constitution makes it a duty of every member to read the press regularly, circulate it, including in our mass work, and help support it financially.

Every level of the Party requires a plan for building the circulation of the press. This must be closely integrated with the general plan of work, particularly with mass work and on the basis of industrial concentration. In other words, how shall we guarantee the maximum circulation at the key district, shop and neighborhood concentrations? How shall we assure circulation among the people and organizations involved in the main district-wide mass struggle efforts? There is a need to cover all mass demonstrations and meetings with press distribution.

On the club level, the problem is to assure regular circulation at the point of concentration—the shop, union hall, housing project or few-block area. Once this is guaranteed, it may also be desirable to set up a regular literature table or distribution every Saturday at the local shopping center, if a major objective is public visibility of the Party.

It would have an important influence on our mass work if every community, union or shop leader read our press and if it were widely read among those in the most important neighborhood organizations or rank and file shop groups, especially if the paper contains some news of the local neighborhood or shop. To accomplish this, lists have to be made of who is to be approached personally or by mail for a full subscription, for a trial subscription, or even for regular local delivery.

The neighborhood club should also approach news stands, candy stores and other outlets that carry newspapers. The problem then will be to

help secure an adequate sale to encourage the outlets to continue carrying the paper. In some cases, transferring a club bundle that comes to someone's home to a news stand can help build up lasting sales there.

Party members should list at least one or two friends, neighbors or co-workers whom they will undertake to approach for a full sub, introductory sub or, if necessary, personal delivery.

A well worked out club plan of all means of circulation, when implemented, can produce a kind of saturation approach in a neighborhood so that the paper and articles in it about the neighborhood are widely discussed and become themselves a real factor in the mass movement with which everyone has to contend.

With respect to circulation at the club's point of concentration, the objective is not just to sell individual papers but to sell them to the same customers regularly and develop talking relationships. The effort also is to obtain names and addresses. A card for an introductory sub offer, attached to the front page, is one method. Often sale of the paper goes better if it is combined with some additional activity; a petition against support of the racist regime in South Africa, a petition against the high cost of food or for rent control—or whatever are the mass campaigns of the Party and the people's movements. Taking along pamphlets on current issues and periodical magazines often will increase the circulation of both the paper and these materials. It will establish more of a relationship. It will open up the possibility of inviting people to public meetings, forums, social affairs, etc., and of establishing friendly personal social relations. Of course, some of these methods are easier on a door-to-door route in a housing project or a few-block concentration area. Such methods have also proven successful at walk-in shop gates (not drive-in) and at union halls.

At shops where we also have a shop paper, usually the shop paper should be attached to or inserted in the *Daily World* or *People's World* so that there is no conflict in building both simultaneously. Rather, they should help each other.

Part of the plan at all levels is also how to extend circulation of pamphlets, *Political Affairs* and other periodicals, and books. Many of the methods used for the press are also applicable here. Such material, in adequate quantity and variety, should be present at every Party meeting and public function. Tables of literature at mass demonstrations and in front of supermarkets are now becoming an accepted practice. Taking along an extra pamphlet or two to meetings of mass organizations and showing them to the closest contacts is another method as well as com-

bining this with press circulation in visiting specific lists of contacts, friends, co-workers, neighbors. There may also be an approach of supplementing these methods with the mailing of pamphlets to appropriate lists of leaders of democratic organizations and movements. Neighborhood bookstores and periodical outlets may also be convinced to carry our books, periodicals and pamphlets. There should be a specific plan for each concentration piece of literature, with individual, club and district goals, using these and other methods of distribution.

XX. FORUMS

The public presence of the Party through a neighborhood forum, or a forum closely associated with it such as a *Daily World* or *People's World* forum, serves several important purposes. It contributes to the struggle for democracy by helping to win recognition of the Party as a legitimate community force, offering alternatives people should be able to consider with respect to social problems. Since rabid anti-Communism, as well as racism, is the main weapon of reaction in attacking the democratic rights of the masses and moving toward fascism, the fight for the legality of the Party among the people is a major contribution to the general struggle for democracy.

Such a forum contributes to the understanding of those who come to it with respect to the issues of the day, be they questions of international, national or neighborhood scope. For those who have reached a level of militancy and radicalism where they are open to close association with or membership in the Communist Party, it provides them with a way of locating the local Party and coming into daily contact with Party members.

Regularity of the forums so that they are expected and looked forward to helps to build their attendance. A monthly forum with all the programs for a year or at least for a number of months announced in advance is advisable. The time and place should be selected with care to make it as easy as possible for the particular people you are trying to attract to attend, in view of their particular customs in the neighborhood. If this turns out to be a Friday evening forum, the starting time should enable working people to finish dinner and get there in time, stay through a total program of one to two hours, and get home early, by 10:30 p.m. at the latest. A weekday evening forum, followed by a working day, should end even earlier. There should be a regular starting time.

As to place, it is better to have it in a meeting room located on a central, well traveled street where people are used to going for other purposes. This may mean acquiring free or by rental a meeting room in a public school, hotel, "Y", church or a store. However, it may be necessary to begin temporarily in a home. The aim of the program should be to provide an informative, stimulating forum on a topic that both the organizers and those we seek to attend consider of importance. It should also aim to provide a warm, friendly atmosphere that invites people to return because it is enjoyable.

There are many ways to achieve these aims. Proper selection of topics is most important. Since the forum will undoubtedly aim to attract workers and specially oppressed people and those who are more radical, this will greatly influence the topics and everything else. A variety of topics may be used; one month a neighborhood issue, the next month a city or state issue, then a national issue and then an international issue. There may be a single unifying theme such as "how working people are being swindled by the monopolies and what to do about it," in which each forum presents a different illustration of the theme.

The format of presentation of the topic may vary from month to month and there are many possibilities. A good, lively, interesting speaker may present the subject for 20 to 45 minutes, followed by questions and comments from the floor. Care in handling questions, comments and other aspects of discussion should be exercised so that purposeful disruption by ultra-right or ultra-left elements is prevented.

Another method is to have two or more panelists each make ten-minute presentations on different aspects of the subject, and then have either some exchange among them or questions and/or comments from the floor.

A film or slides may be the main presentation, combined with some explanation. Questions or comments on these may be used to illustrate a presentation. Visual illustration of one kind or another helps enliven and vary programs and is more competitive with commercial means of communication.

A panel or symposium may be on the basis of different aspects of a question or diversity of viewpoints. In the latter case, we do not provide an additional platform for reactionary or ultra-left views. We aim to unify the people's forces in common struggle and as part of that process might share a platform with healthy forces that have a mass base to discuss how best to achieve common objectives against monopoly and reaction.

While the forum itself may be of an educational discussion character, it should help prepare people for struggle and lead them to the threshold of action through other neigborhood action forms. This means that it should include announcements of actions and action planning meetings, and introduction of organizers of such actions so that they can follow up when the formal program has ended.

Refreshments, some cultural interlude or other entertainment with local talent are means of creating a warm, hospitable atmosphere. Comrades should actually be assigned to circulate among newcomers to make them feel at home.

Literature should be available at every forum, well displayed and appropriate to the subject, as well as general literature, including the *Daily World, People's World* on West Coast, *Political Affairs,* the *Young Worker,* other periodicals, books and pamphlets. Leaflet announcements of other events, Party and League membership applications and a sign-up sheet for future forum notices should also be available. These things should be handled in such a way that there is neither an apologetic, defensive tone nor an atmosphere in which the newcomer will feel put upon.

In most cases, there will need to be a collection to help finance the forum and/or perhaps a small door contribution that does not repel attendance. Depending upon the local situation at a particular time, the possibility of organized disruption and means to prevent it will have to be considered in planning.

Should the forum be a *Daily World* or *People's World* forum, a few minutes toward the end may be used to solicit help for specific neighborhood circulation efforts or other events of the paper such as an annual city-wide dinner, picnic, etc.

Methods of assuring a substantial and growing attendance will also vary according to the local situation. Getting out a series leaflet early and getting out a leaflet announcing the particular forum early enough are basic. The leaflet should be simple (uncrowded and short) and attractive in design and well reproduced. Even if everything else is done well, a poorly produced leaflet suggests to the receiver that the organizers are incompetent, not serious, disrespectful, etc., and therefore not worthy of one's effort to come to the forum. The topic must be easily understood in presentation and layout as well as interestingly presented.

This leaflet announcement should be mailed to lists of contacts, leading community figures, community organizations, etc. It should be hand-delivered, with a personal invitation to attend, to as many people as possible. It may also be given out at a shop gate, union hall, at the

concentration housing project or few-block area and/or to passersby at major intersections, at a transportation center, or in front of a supermarket. It may itself or in a poster form be posted on poles, walls, fences, in store windows with permission of the owner, etc. A letter to the editor, a press release, a free or paid ad in the neighborhood paper may also be used. Free community service announcements on radio stations are another method of publicity.

Except in special situations where the forum is on an issue greatly agitating masses of people, random distribution of leaflets and other forms of advertising, while creating an atmosphere of knowledge of the forum, will not produce much attendance. In the majority of cases attendance is assured by more personal and organized methods of bringing people. This includes personal phone calls to a specific list, and offers to stop by and come with the person to the forum.

While a neighborhood forum is preferable, in smaller districts it may be necessary to begin with a city-wide forum, but with the aim of changing over to building it as a neighborhood forum in a concentration neighborhood.

XXI. FINANCING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY

The cost in dollars to finance the activities of the Communist Party is enormous, even more so since runaway prices have become such a part of state monopoly capitalism in the U.S. There are no corporate sources of funds for the Communist Party. The money must be raised from thousands of working people who are members of the Party or who support one or another of its activities. Whatever the Party does there is a price tag on it under capitalism. Publication of the press is the biggest single expense. Every book, pamphlet, periodical and leaflet costs large sums of money and usually only very partially pays for itself, if at all, in the commercial sense. The immense distances of the country require big sums for travel for Central Committee and other meetings and for work in the field. While full-time functionaries receive considerably less wages than the average factory worker, the total sum is of importance in the budget. And it takes funds to keep Party offices and institutions open.

The raising of these large sums can become a great administrative burden, with the drain on the pocketbooks of the membership almost unbearable and the ability of the Party to continually expand highly

doubtful. Or it can be approached politically and actually become a form of mass work in which our resources and our mass relationships continually expand.

Every Party member is expected to make a substantial financial contribution according to his or her means in the form of an annual fund drive and a monthly sustainer pledge, in addition to the required minimum dues and assessments. The bulk of the money needed, however, if we are to raise enough and if we work correctly, will come from non-Party people. When the bulk of needed funds comes from Party members, it means that we are approaching fund raising as a thing in itself, administratively, separated from our mass activity.

A yearly plan of fund raising affairs and activities is required at each level of the Party. The most valuable forms, politically and financially, are public fund raising affairs. At the district level this may include an annual Party anniversary affair in September, an annual holiday season gift bazaar for the press or the Party, a spring reception or dinner for the press and a summer picnic. Additional events honoring a staunch older comrade on the occasion of 50 years of membership in the Party or a 70th birthday, or a couple on their 40th or 50th wedding anniversary, have an educational, political and social-cultural purpose as well.

In fact, most districts should have almost monthly affairs of this kind, some more elaborate than others. Their political breadth starts with the list of sponsors or endorsers, the speakers and cultural performers. Our attempt is constantly to broaden and deepen. Then, the effort must be to publicize the event widely and organize the attendance, going as far beyond our own ranks to every kind of contact as possible. Particular political themes of such affairs, occasions for public enunciation of important policy questions, often with attempts at mass media coverage, add to their combined purpose of fund raising and extending mass influence. Raffles and rummage sales are additional forms for fund raising.

At the club level there may be a neighborhood affair to honor a worthy older comrade, a forum, a film, a social evening, a dinner, take-out food prepared by the club and its friends in return for contributions. These are all forms that have proven their usefulness.

Collection lists of various types have been used for particular institutions and at district levels.

The great variety of fund-raising methods used by other working-class and people's organizations are also used by the Communist Party. Extensive mailed appeals are made both in an annual Fall national appeal and in connection with special issues. Another significant source of in-

come is from devoted members and supporters who leave much of their savings by means of a will. Due to legal discrimination against the Party, this must be done in conformity with procedures recommended by the Party's attorney in order to achieve the wishes of the person making the will.

But in addition to all such methods that extend our contacts and political influence, lists for individual solicitation beyond the Party membership must be made at all levels and followed up, checked up and expanded from year to year. These lists are made up of non-Party people who are personally visited for contributions to the press, to the Party or to specific projects. A person who is approached not only helps our movement financially but is drawn closer to us politically by being asked to give and even more so by actually giving. Receipts and strict accounting are necessary to build confidence that funds contributed will be used effectively and properly.

Often the Party is asked to contribute money to other movements and organizations. Generally speaking the Party needs all the funds, and more, that it can raise for its own activities. When there is a coalition of organizations and the Party is one of them and all are asked to help finance the activities of the coalition, the Party has to uphold its share, but with the understanding that it has no big financiers and is totally dependent on the contributions of working people.

The Central Committee elects a Treasurer who is responsible to it and the Committee's standing committees for the conduct of the Party's financial affairs, including control of expenditures and the collective effort at fund raising.

XXII. CONTROL, DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE AND APPEALS

The primary approach of the Party to weaknesses, shortcomings, mistakes and errors is persuasion through criticism and self-criticism, education and study and political activity. But when a member, officer or Party committee does not respond, or commits more serious errors such as those listed in Article VII, Sections 1 and 2 of the Constitution, control and disciplinary methods may be initiated by a member or a Party committee by bringing charges. When a person by voluntary action applies for membership and by voluntary action is admitted to membership by the collective, he or she agrees to accept the Program and Constitution and abide by the decisions of the Party. The Constitution provides for

the conditions, methods and procedures by which control and disciplinary measures may be decided.

There are a number of different kinds of control and disciplinary measures which may be applied for certain kinds of harmful activity, depending on such circumstances as whether the comrade is responsive to criticism, repeats prior errors, and the seriousness of the acts under consideration. These harmful activities include advocating or practice of racial, national or religious discrimination, discrimination on the basis of sex, factionalism, making a false statement in an application for membership, financial irregularities, or actions detrimental to the interests of the Party and the working class.

Among other things, this latter category would include violation of decisions. But here too discussion, criticism and self-criticism and assignment to control tasks of practical activity would undoubtedly be used prior to disciplinary procedures. Factional activity includes meeting regularly with others outside regular Party bodies and reaching conclusions, including on how to influence Party bodies or with a discipline in conflict with adherence to Party discipline. There may be a factional tendency in the absence of regular meetings when people are lined up for particular purposes prior to meetings of Party bodies and outside of regular Party bodies that have such a responsibility.

The disciplinary measures that may be used include a warning, reprimand, probation, suspension from membership for a specified period, removal from office, dropping or expulsion from membership.

For certain kinds of activity, expulsion from membership is mandatory. Any member is to be expelled who is a strikebreaker, provocateur, engaged in espionage, an informer, or who advocates terrorism or who participates in activities of any group which acts to undermine or overthrow any democratic institution through which the majority of the people can express their right to determine their destiny.

Expulsion also is required for advocacy of force or violence at a time when the democratic channels for majority-supported social change have not been closed by the ruling class' use of force and violence.

Should an individual or collective feel that disciplinary action is called for in accord with the Party Constitution, and the person or collective criticized challenges the facts as indicated, or does not agree that it is a disciplinary matter or with the applicability of a particular kind of disciplinary measure, then charges should be filed and the formal disciplinary procedure followed. Any member or committee may bring charges against any other member or committee, before the club of which the accused

is a member or to the appropriate higher body having jurisdiction.

The charges are to be handled expeditiously by an elected trial committee of the club or appropriate higher body. The trial committee hears the charges, makes recommendations to the body which elected it and then disbands. The body receiving the recommendations of the trial committee has a right to decide by a two-thirds vote on any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by a leading committee are to be reported to the member's club.

An accused person, except publicly self-admitted informers and provacateurs, has the right to appear, bring witnesses and testify before the trial committee, with the burden of proof on the accusers.

Any member or committee that has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal successively to the next higher body, up to the National Convention whose decision is final. Within 60 days of receipt of an appeal, a hearing must be held and the appealer informed of the date. When the appeal is to a District or National Convention, however, the appeal is acted on by the convention following the filing of the appeal. In the case of an expulsion, there is an automatic review by the next higher body.

When a member no longer meets the standards for Party membership and cannot be corrected within a reasonable time, but does not fight the Party and is not anti-Party, the member may be dropped rather than expelled from membership by mutual agreement or by charges being brought and the normal disciplinary procedures followed. Such a situation falls under the Constitutional category of "actions detrimental to the interests of the Party and the working class." A person who no longer accepts the Program and Constitution is in this category as is a person who is severely disturbed mentally and/or emotionally. Attempts would be made first to assist the comrade in overcoming the difficulty, and in some categories a medical leave from active participation in Party life for a period of time may be granted.

CONCLUSION

Most of the details of organizational structure and procedure described in this Handbook change with time and circumstance. Details of the Party's strategy and tactics, industrial concentration policy, methods of mass work, etc., also bear the stamp of particular situations and change from time to time in secondary features. There are additional questions of Party organization and practice that are not even discussed here because they are quite detailed and subject to rapid modification.

Despite such changes, the basic character of the Communist Party, U.S.A. remains the same. It is the Party of the working class that bases itself on the science of society, Marxism-Leninism, and adheres to the principles of working class internationalism. Its basic principle of organization is democratic centralism. As a result, it is capable of leading the working class, the nationally oppressed and popular masses in the struggle for their daily needs, for curbing the power of the monopolies and for socialism. In the process of fighting for a new society free of exploitation, war, racism and poverty, it develops new people of a profoundly more social and humane kind. This is why the Communist Party is justified in claiming to be the standard bearer of the future of humanity.

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